

NICHOLAS ADONTZ

ARMENIA
IN THE PERIOD OF JUSTINIAN
THE POLITICAL CONDITIONS
BASED ON THE *NAXARAR* SYSTEM

TRANSLATED WITH PARTIAL REVISIONS

A BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

AND

APPENDICES

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EDITOR'S PREFACE

For more than half a century since its publication in 1908, Nicholas Adontz's monumental thesis on *Armenia in the Period of Justinian* has proved to be both a landmark and a guidepost in the field of Armenian studies although its general inaccessibility, either from the rarity of procurable copies, or from linguistic difficulties, has made of it far too often a semi-legendary document rather than a useful tool. Perhaps as the result of this fortuitous isolation as well as of external circumstances, Adontz's first and probably greatest work did not lead to an immediate proliferation of studies along the lines that he had traced. He, himself, was to develop a number of them in later works such as his articles on the *Armenian Primary History*, Mesrop Mašt'oç, Koriwn, P'awstos Buzand, and Movsēs Xorenaci; on the date of the Christianization of Armenia; on the Iranian aspects of Armenian society; and, as late as his posthumously published *History*, on pre-Achaemenid Armenia¹. But it is only relatively recently that the works of such distinguished contemporary armenologists as Gérard Garitte, Cyril Toumanoff, and the late Hakob Manandian have developed a number of problems in mediaeval Armenian history significantly beyond the point reached by Adontz at the turn of the century, and these scholars have not failed to acknowledge their indebtedness even where they have outstripped him². Not even a Marxist presentation which of necessity challenged many of Adontz's premises and interpretations prevented A.G. Sukiasian from admitting that "... the admirable work of N. Adontz ... remains to this day one of the most authoritative works on Armenian feudalism"³. Such tributes are all the more impressive if we remember that they are addressed to the first major work of a young scholar composed at a time when a number of crucial studies on Late-Roman, Byzantine, and Iranian history as well as on the historical geography of eastern Anatolia were still to be written.

The scope of Adontz's encyclopaedic work is not conveyed adequately by even a full quotation of his title, since, far from restricting himself to the reign of Justinian, or to an investigation of the *naḫarar* system, he went on to scrutinize nearly every aspect of ancient and mediaeval

¹ A bibliography of Adontz's works can be found in the commemorative article in *HA*, LXI (May, 1947), pp. 313-318, and in *AIPHO*, IV (1936), pp. 991-993.

² E.g., Toumanoff, *Studies*, p. 108. See also below n. 4.

³ Sukiasian, *Armenia*, p. 36. Also Yuzbaşıyan's recent article in *PBH* (1962).

Armenia — geographical, political, religious, administrative, social, and intellectual — while giving simultaneously an extensive analysis of all the available sources. Perhaps the clearest index of the breadth of Adontz's information is the all too clear incompetence of a single individual to edit his work; a team of specialists — historians, geographers, archaeologists, philologists, anthropologists, and ethnographers — would have been necessary to do it justice.

The value of Adontz's work for a new generation of scholars is not, however, limited to being a source of rare information to be exploited for reference; his methods and insights into the crucial problems of early Armenian history may yet prove more useful than even the enormous material accumulated by him. His application of critical scholarly methods to Armenian studies, and particularly his recognition of the dangers inherent in purely literary sources, have led to considerable work on the re-evaluation and re-dating of many Armenian historical documents, a task in which he continued to participate energetically, and which is by no means completed. His simultaneous use of the techniques of varied disciplines while stressing the maintenance of the historian's rigorous chronological criterion, and his comparative method of juxtaposing the information of all relevant sources, Classical, Armenian, and Oriental, provided a workable blueprint for attacking the difficulties characterizing Armenian historiography. His ground breaking qualitative and quantitative analyses of Armenian social structure, reaching beyond superficial generalities, provided us with some of the first detailed information and with a framework for further research.

Particularly illuminating is Adontz's constant refusal to be led astray by the conscious or implicit assumptions of his sources that ancient Armenia was a simple, undifferentiated, and unchanging entity, rather than the complicated aggregation of varied components whose geographic, political, and even religious particularism must be recognized even in periods of seeming unification, and whose characteristics and interests must be accounted for and balanced anew in each successive period. On numerous occasions Adontz's hypotheses have required development or rectification, but his basic conclusions repeatedly reached beyond the theses then current to what would prove to be the crux of a problem: beyond the familiar division of Armenia between the Graeco-Roman and Iranian worlds to the paramount importance of the elaborate nexus of family traditions

and loyalties, "dynastic" as well as "feudal", as shown in Toumanoff's recent *Studies*; beyond the double strain of Armenian Christianity, Syriac as well as Hellenic, to the relationship of the ecclesiastical hierarchy to the *naḫarar* structure, and its influence on the political evolution of the country, as I hope to demonstrate in a forthcoming work. Professor Garitte already observed the value of Adontz's inspired guesses when his own publication of the new Greek version of the *Life of St. Gregory* repeatedly vindicated Adontz's hypothetical corrections of Marr's readings in the Arabic version⁴.

It is self evident that a book written more than sixty years ago should now be superseded in a number of instances: Armenian archaeology was all but non-existent at the time, so that the Urartian aspects of Armenian history were perforce ignored, though Adontz himself rectified a considerable part of this lacuna in his *Histoire d'Arménie*; new epigraphic material both in Armenia and in Iran has added significantly to our knowledge of both countries, and new editions of Iranian texts have altered a number of etymological derivations; the Erwandian-Orontid dynasty identified by Manandian⁵ has altered radically our knowledge of the Hellenistic period; the lengthy survey of Diocletian's administrative reforms while perhaps still useful to Adontz's Russian contemporaries, now seems superfluous; and a number of his conclusions as to the «feudal» nature of the Armenian *naḫarar* system rest on antiquated interpretations of European feu-dalism.

The entire book bears the marks of hasty publication, whether in the more superficial details of faulty proofreading, insufficient and often exasperatingly inadequate references, as well as the absence of the indispensable map, whose omission was regretted by the author, or in the far more fundamental aspects of occasionally confused, repetitive and contradictory organization, dubious etymologies, overstatements, and premature conclusions. The involutions of Adontz's style in a language not native to him add nothing to the clarity of the presentation.

Yet Adontz himself anticipated much of the criticism which must attend a pioneer venture by disclaiming any pretension to a definitive study. "... in publishing this work we are very far from any illusion as to its perfection. Armenian philology is still at a stage where the

⁴ Garitte, *Agathange*, pp. 351-353.

⁵ See below Chapter XIV, n. 1.

presentation of any interpretation or theory as unchallengeably correct is out of the question. Students of Armenian antiquity can only grope their way toward many historical problems by way of more or less successful hypotheses; some of these may be corroborated at a later date, others will fall by the way. ... Our clarification of the *naḫarar* system should bring a ray of light into the darkness which hangs over the Armenian past ... and should prove a starting point for a scholarly analysis of the extensive subsequent period of Armenian history ... ”⁶. On these terms, the value of his work has diminished but little in the intervening half-century, notwithstanding the necessary alterations. It remains a mine of information for the specialist, and a source of seminal ideas for those re-interpretations and further investigations the author had requested. As such it is a fitting reminder that in every generation it behoves dwarfs to take advantage of the shoulders of the giants who have preceded them.

* * *

The instinct of every translator running the ominous gauntlet between the Charybdis of inaccuracy and the Scylla of unreadability is to open with his own *apologia*. This temptation is all the stronger in the case of *Armenia in the Period of Justinian*, since, as I have already indicated, Russian was not Adontz's native language. Unlike Armenian, which has three steps in the demonstrative-relative system (*hic, iste, ille*), Russian shares with most European languages a two step system. As a consequence of Adontz's shift from the one to the other, his writing abounds with cases of ambiguous antecedents, not all of which can readily be resolved from the context. His complicated and often awkward sentence structure is particularly foreign to English usage; the paragraphing is often erratic. Nevertheless the text has been consistently respected, and alterations held down to a minimum even where some awkwardness ensued. Aside from the introduction of occasional elucidations such as “Xosrov II of Armenia” for “Xosrov”, the subdivision of unmanageable sentences, the clarification of antecedents, and the correction of minor misprints, no liberties have been taken with the original.

The only significant difference between this edition and the Russian one lies in the realm of quotations from primary sources. Following the fashion of the day, Adontz often gave lengthy paraphrases rather

⁶ Introduction pp. 6 and Chapter XV, p. 371.

than direct quotations. In several instances where this method seemed awkward or unnecessary, the original quotation has been re-introduced, each case being duly recorded in the notes. To facilitate the reading, all extensive quotations in foreign languages have been shifted from the text to the notes and replaced by their English translations. Since so much of the value of Adontz's work lies in his vast collection of sources, many of which still remain extremely scarce even for the specialist, it has seemed useful to include in the notes the texts of a number of passages to which Adontz merely referred, all such additions being set off by square brackets. Furthermore, a series of Appendices containing *in extenso*, or in their relevant portions, the main documents, Classical and Armenian, used by Adontz, has been added to this edition to allow the reader to draw his own conclusions from the material.

In many instances the editions used by Adontz were either superseded or, in the case of some Armenian documents, unobtainable; these have been replaced by more recent or accessible ones. All such substitutions have been noted in the Bibliography. Similarly, the English versions of Classical sources found in the *Loeb Classical Library* have been used wherever possible for the sake of convenience, but any significant differences between their translations and the ones given by Adontz have been recorded. Additional notes by the editor are indicated by letters as well as numbers eg. 1a.

A full scale re-edition of Adontz's book to bring its manifold aspects in line with their modern scholarship would have entailed a major re-writing of the book, and would consequently lie well beyond the scope of this edition and the competence of its editor. Consequently it has seemed best to leave Adontz's text substantially as he composed it, adding only, wherever possible, some indication in the notes as to the agreement or disagreement of subsequent investigators, new material, need for rectification, or corroborative evidence. The new Bibliographical Note attempts to provide some, albeit cursory, indication of the relevant works published since 1908. Finally, it is hoped that the Bibliography, which follows Adontz's lead in reaching beyond the limits of Justinianic Armenia to include a number of problems implicit or explicit in his text, will provide still more comparative material and criteria for a further re-evaluation of some of his conclusions.

All those who have had the occasion to experience it will readily

recognize the eternal nightmare of inconsistency in transliteration, especially in the case of proper names which have reached us in multiple versions. In the kaleidoscopic world of eastern Asia Minor is a locality to be identified by its Classical, Armenian, Persian, Syriac, Arabic, or Turkish name? Which is the preferable transliteration system to be used for the name of an author writing both in Armenian and in Russian? The most that this edition can hope to claim is an attempt to bring a little order into what can only be called Adontz's systematic inconsistency. Wherever possible, Armenian terms have been given according to the prevailing Hübschmann-Meillet system, Arabic ones according to the spelling of the *Encyclopedia of Islam*, the Persian ones according to Christensen's *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*, 2nd edition (Copenhagen, 1944) with minor alterations, Russian ones according to the system of the U.S. Library of Congress, Georgian ones according to Toumanoff's *Studies in Christian Caucasian History* (Georgetown, 1963), and Turkish toponyms according to the Office of Geography, Department of the Interior, *Gazetteer No. 46: Turkey* (Washington, 1960). For the sake of convenience, author's names have been given a single form, e.g. Manandian, irrespective of the alterations required by the diverse languages in which they wrote, the form selected being wherever possible the one more generally familiar. In all cases of ambiguity alternate versions have been given. For Armenian toponyms, the Armenian form has generally been preferred for localities in Persarmenia, and the Classical (preferably Greek rather than Latin) for the western section of the country which was part of the Eastern Roman Empire, except in the case of familiar names where such a procedure would entail unwarranted pedantry. For all the occasions on which these guide lines have failed, as they needs must, I can only appeal to the sympathetic indulgence of my colleagues.

The precious geographical sections of the book carry their own particular series of problems. The map envisaged by Adontz was never published, and nearly every locality in eastern Anatolia has experienced at least one name change since 1908. Consequently Kiepert's and Lynch's maps to which Adontz normally refers are of but limited value to the modern reader, since no concordance of earlier and contemporary names exists to my knowledge. The identification of many ancient sites remains controversial in spite of the extensive investigations of Markwart, Honigsmann, Ereryan, and many others. In Appendix V some attempt has been made to

coordinate the information on toponyms, giving where relevant and possible their ancient Classical and/or Armenian name, the modern equivalent, the coordinates given in the U.S. Office of Geography, *Gazetteer No. 46*, and a reference to the appropriate sheet of the *USAF Aeronautical Approach Chart* (St. Louis, 1956-1958) and the *Turkish General Map*. Where this has proved impossible, the available information will be found in the relevant notes.

Finally, I should like to express my thanks to my friends and colleagues, professors Seeger Bonebakker, Associate Professor of Arabic Studies, Tibor Halasi-Kun, Professor of Turkic Studies, Karl H. Menges, Professor of Altaic Philology, and Ehsan Yar-Shater, Hagop Kevorkian Professor of Iranian Studies, all of Columbia University, as well as professors Gérard E. Caspary, Associate Professor of Mediaeval History at Smith College, Wendell S. Johnson, Associate Professor of English Literature at the University of the City of New York, and Norma A. Phillips, Assistant Professor of English Literature at Queens College of the City of New York, for their help and patience on the many occasions when I was forced to turn to them for assistance. I am most grateful to Professor Emeritus Sirarpie der Nersessian of the Dumbarton Oaks Center for Byzantine Studies, both for her suggestion that I undertake this edition and for the help and encouragement she has so often given me. To my constant advantage, I have also benefited from the vast knowledge and inexhaustible kindness of Monsieur Haig Bérbérian of the *Revue des Études Arméniennes*. Finally, my thanks are also due to Dr. Robert Hewsen for his help with questions of Armenian geography, and to my students Dr. Linda Rose, Messers, Krikor Maksoudian and Jack Vartoogian for the endless hours they spent in the thankless tasks of verifying references, hunting out copies of rare works, and proofreading. For the many flaws which such an edition must perforce still contain, the responsibility remains of course mine alone.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AASS	<i>Acta Sanctorum Bollandiana</i> (Brussels).
AAWB	<i>Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin.</i>
AB	<i>Analecta Bollandiana</i> (Brussels).
ABAWM	<i>Abhandlungen der bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu München.</i>
ACO	<i>Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum</i> , Schwartz, E. ed. (Berlin, 1914).
AEHE	<i>Annuaire de l'École des Hautes Études</i> (Paris).
AIPHO	<i>Annuaire de l'Institut de philologie et d'histoire orientales et slaves</i> (Brussels).
AJSLL	<i>American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures</i> (Chicago).
AKGWG	<i>Abhandlungen der königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen.</i>
AO	<i>Acta Orientalia</i> (Copenhagen).
AQ	<i>Armenian Quarterly</i> (New York).
ARBBL	<i>Académie Royale de Belgique. Bulletin Classe des Lettres</i> (Brussels).
ASGW	<i>Abhandlungen der sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften.</i>
B	<i>Byzantion</i> (Brussels).
BA	<i>Bulletin arménologique. Mélanges de l'Université de Saint-Joseph</i> (Beirut).
Ber	<i>Berytus</i> (Beirut).
BGA	<i>Bibliotheca geographorum arabicorum</i> , de Goeje, M.J. ed. (Leiden).
BIM	<i>Bulletin de l'Institut Marr</i> (Tbilisi).
BK	<i>Bedi Karthlisa. Revue de Karthvélogie</i> (Paris).
BM	<i>Banber Matenadarani</i> (Erevan).
BNJ	<i>Byzantinisch-neugriechische Jahrbücher</i> (Berlin).
BSL	<i>Bulletin de la Société Linguistique de Paris.</i>
BSOAS	<i>Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies</i> (London).
BZ	<i>Byzantinische Zeitschrift</i> (Leipzig).
Ca	<i>Caucasica</i> (Leipzig).
CAH	<i>Cambridge Ancient History.</i>
CHA	<i>Collection d'historiens arméniens</i> , Brosset, M.F. ed. (St. Petersburg, 1874-1876).
CHAMA	<i>Collection d'historiens anciens et modernes de l'Arménie</i> , Langlois, V. ed. (Paris, 1967-1869).
CHR	<i>The Catholic Historical Review</i> (Washington).
CIG	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Graecorum.</i>
CIL	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinorum.</i>
CJC	<i>Corpus Juris Civilis</i> , Mommsen, T., Krüger, P., et al., edd. (Berlin).
CMH	<i>Cambridge Medieval History.</i>
Cod. Th.	<i>Codex Theodosianus</i> , Mommsen, T., et al., edd. (Berlin).
CP	<i>Classical Philology</i> (Chicago).
CR	<i>Classical Review</i> (London-Oxford).
CSCO	<i>Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium</i> (Louvain).
CSHB	<i>Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae</i> (Bonn, 1828-1897).
DHG	<i>Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Géographie Ecclésiastique</i> (Paris).

DTC	<i>Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique</i> (Paris).
EHR	<i>English Historical Review</i> (London).
EI-	<i>Encyclopaedia of Islam</i> (Leiden, 1913-1948). New edition (1954-).
EO	<i>Echos d'Orient</i> (Paris).
FGH	<i>Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum</i> , Muller, C. ed. (Paris, 1841-1883).
G	<i>Georgica</i> (London).
G46	Office of Geography, Department of the Interior, <i>Gazetteer No. 46 : Turkey</i> (Washington, 1960).
GGM	<i>Geographi Graeci Minores</i> , Muller, C. ed. (Paris, 1855-1861).
HA	<i>Handēs Amsorya</i> (Vienna).
IAFAN	<i>Izvestia Armianskogo Filiala Akademii Nauk SSSR</i> (Erevan).
IANA	<i>Izvestiia Akademii Nauk Armianskoj SSR</i> (Erevan).
IANs	<i>Izvestiia Akademii Nauk SSSR</i> (Moscow).
IKIAI	<i>Izvestiia Kavkazskogo Istoriko-Arkhelogicheskogo Instituta</i> (Tbilisi).
IZ	<i>Istoricheskie Zapiski</i> (Moscow).
JA	<i>Journal Asiatique</i> (Paris).
JEH	<i>The Journal of Ecclesiastical History</i> (London).
JHS	<i>Journal of Hellenic Studies</i> (London).
JRAS	<i>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain</i> (London).
JRGS	<i>Journal of the Royal Geographic Society</i> (London).
JRS	<i>Journal of Roman Studies</i> (London).
K.	<i>Klio. Beiträge zur alten Geschichte</i> (Leipzig).
KSINA	<i>Kratkie Soobshcheniie Instituta Narodov Azii Akademii Nauk SSSR</i> (Moscow).
KV	<i>Khristianskii Vostok</i> .
L	<i>Loeb Classical Library</i> (Cambridge, Mass.-London).
LTK	<i>Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche</i> (Freiburg i/B).
Mansi	<i>Sacrorum Conciliorum Nova et Amplissima Collectio</i> . Migne, J.B. ed. (Florence - Venice, 1759-1798). New edition (Paris, 1901).
MAIP	<i>Mémoires de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de St. Pétersbourg</i> .
MBAK	<i>Monatsberichte der berlinischen Akademie der Wissenschaften</i> .
MDGKO	<i>Morgenländische Darstellung aus Geschichte und Kultur des Ostens</i> (Berlin).
MVG	<i>Mitteilungen der vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft</i> .
NT	<i>Nord Tidsskrift for Sprogviden</i> (Oslo).
OC	<i>Oriens Christianus</i> (Leipzig).
OS	<i>Orientalia Suecana</i> (Uppsala).
P	<i>Pazmaveb</i> (Venice).
PBA	<i>Proceedings of the British Academy</i> (London).
PBH	<i>Patma-banasirakan Handēs</i> (Erevan).
PG	<i>Patrologiae cursus completus. Series graeco-latina</i> , Migne, J.P. ed. (Paris, 1857-1866).
PL	<i>Patrologiae cursus completus. Series latina</i> , Migne, J.P. ed. (Paris, 1844-1855).
PO	<i>Patrologia Orientalis</i> , Graffin, R. and Nau, F. edd. (Paris, 1903).
PP	<i>La Parola del Passato. Rivista di Studi Classici</i> (Naples).
PS	<i>Palestinskii Sbornik</i> (Moscow).
PW	<i>Real-encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft</i> , Pauly, A., Wisso-

	wa, G., and Kroll, W. edd. (Vienna, 1837-1852). New edition (Stuttgart, 1893).
REA	<i>Revue des Études Arméniennes</i> (Paris, 1920-1932). New series (Paris, 1964-).
REAnc	<i>Revue des Études Anciennes</i> (Bordeaux).
REB	<i>Revue des Études Byzantines</i> (Paris).
REIE	<i>Revue des Études Indo-Européennes</i> .
RH	<i>Revue Historique</i> (Paris).
RHE	<i>Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique</i> (Louvain).
RHR	<i>Revue de l'Histoire des Religions</i> (Paris).
ROC	<i>Revue de l'Orient Chrétien</i> (Paris).
RSJB	<i>Recueils de la Société Jean Bodin</i> (Paris).
S	<i>Syria</i> (Paris).
SAW	<i>Sitzungsberichte der philologisch-historische Classe der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften</i> (Vienna).
SBAWM	<i>Sitzungsberichte der bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu München</i> .
SIA	<i>Studia Instituti Anthropos</i> (Vienna).
SMM	<i>Sak'art'velos Muzeume Moambe</i> (Tbilisi).
SV	<i>Sovetskoe Vostokovedenie</i> (Moscow).
T	<i>Traditio</i> (New York).
USAFM	<i>USAF Aeronautical Approach Chart</i> (St. Louis, 1956-1958).
UZL	<i>Uchenyye Zapiski Leningradskogo Universiteta</i> .
VBAG	<i>Verhandlungen der berlinischen anthropologischen Gesellschaft</i> .
VDI	<i>Vestnik Drevnei Istorii</i> (Moscow).
VI	<i>Voprosy Istorii</i> (Moscow).
VIA	<i>Voprosy Iazykoznaniiia</i> (Moscow).
VV	<i>Vizantiiskii Vremennik</i> (St. Petersburg, 1894-1928). N.S. (Leningrad, 1947).
WZKM	<i>Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes</i> .
ZDMG	<i>Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft</i> (Leipzig).
ZE	<i>Zeitschrift für Ethnologie</i> .
ZKO	<i>Zapiski Klassicheskago Otdeleniia Imperatorskago Russkago Arkheologicheskago Obshchestva</i> (St. Petersburg).
ZMNP	<i>Zhurnal Ministerstva Narodnago Prosveshcheniia</i> (St. Petersburg).
ZNW	<i>Zeitschrift für neutestamentliche Wissenschaft</i> .
ZVO	<i>Zapiski Vostochnago Otdeleniia Imperatorskago Russkago Arkheologicheskago Obshchestva</i> (St. Petersburg).
ZVS	<i>Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung</i> .

WESTERN ARMENIA

II

THE AUTONOMOUS PRINCIPALITIES — *SATRAPIAE*

The composition of the autonomous principalities — Their order, with a genetic sketch — Asthianenē and Balabitenē — Sophenē, in the broader sense — Anzitenē-Covk', Xarberd, Ašmušat, and Anzita — Anzitenē as part of Sophenē — The division of Sophenē: Greater, and Šahunian Sophenē — Angelenē as part of Greater Sophenē — The origin of the autonomous Satrapies — The addition of Asthianenē and Balabitenē to the Satrapies in A.D. 387.

Western Armenia was neither politically nor culturally a homogeneous unit. This situation was primarily a consequence of the fact that she had not entered into the complex of the Empire at one time, but rather piecemeal, at different times and on different terms. From the Imperial point of view, three territorial units were distinguished according to the degree of their submission to the authority of the Emperor: the autonomous principalities, *Satrapiae*; Interior Armenia, *Armenia Interior*; and Lesser Armenia, *Armenia Minor*.

The trans-Euphratine [west bank] Armenian lands were known as *Armenia Minor*, and they had been incorporated into the Roman Empire very early, still at the dawn of their political life so to speak. The lands stretching from the Euphrates [east bank], on the other hand, formed Greater Armenia and were the possessions of the Armenian Arsacids. The struggle between Rome and Persia was carried on over Greater Armenia exclusively, since Roman power in Lesser Armenia had been thoroughly established before the appearance of the Arsacids.

The Arsacid possessions in Greater Armenia were the subject of the quarrel and partition of 387. Some of the provinces which entered into the Roman part at the time of this partition were even considered to have become part of it from the downfall of Aršak [Arsaces] II in 374. They formed a small group of autonomous principalities under the eventual protection of the Emperor, which successfully

preserved their privileged position until the time of Justinian. These principalities were known as the autonomous Satrapies, or, more commonly, as the nations (*ἔθνη*, *gentes*). The other provinces which likewise entered into the territorial complex of Greater Armenia, but went over to the Empire under the terms of the partition of 387, continued to be called Greater Armenia by the Romans as *pars pro toto*, while the major part of former Greater Armenia, *i.e.* the part remaining in the hands of the Persians was known in the Empire as Persarmenia. Since the official name of Roman Greater Armenia seems to have been *Armenia Interior*, we will refer to it in this fashion, leaving its broader modern meaning to the term Greater Armenia.

* * *

The autonomous principalities, or Satrapies, as they were called, lay in southern Armenia between the Tigris and the Euphrates. To differentiate them from Greater (Interior) Armenia, Procopius refers to them as "the Other Armenia".

Such were the dispositions ... made for Greater Armenia as it is called, but in the Other Armenia, which extends inside of the Euphrates river as far as the city of Amida, five Armenian satraps held the power ¹.

The same principalities are called *gentes* and *ἔθνη*, as opposed to *Armenia Magna* or *Armenia Interior*, in documents promulgated by Justinian himself, and they are listed by name:

Magnam Armeniam, quae Interior dicebatur et gentes: Anzetenam vicelicet, Ingilenam, Asthianenam, Sophenam, Sophanenam, in qua est Martyropolis, Balabitenam.

τῶν τε ἔθνῶν ... Τζοφανηγή τε καὶ Ἀνζητηνή, ἣ Τζοφανηγή καὶ Ἀσθιανηγή καὶ Βαλαβιτηγή καλουμένη καὶ ὑπὸ σατράπαις οὔσα.

Sancimus itaque, si quidem ab Aegyptiaco... vel Armenis et gentibus... (²)

Let us merely note for the time being that the number of Satrapies given here does not coincide. There were five according to Procopius, while the official documents give five in one case and six in the other.

But first, let us become familiar with the location of these provinces.

Asthianenē and Balabitenē, the Armenian Hašteank' and Balahovit, of which we already have had occasion to speak, lay along the Arsianias — Murad-su, the tributary of the Euphrates ^{2a}. The fact that they are listed among the Satrapies shows that they occupied not only the right but also the left bank of the river. Asthianenē corresponded approximately to the modern Genç Kazasi and Çapakçur, and Balahovit to the Palu Kazasi [Balu]. Balahovit means in Armenian "the valley of Bal" from Bal and *hovit*. Consequently, the original name of the locality obviously was Bal, from which the genitive form Balu is derived ³. It is possible that there is a relation between *Ašti-anē* and *Ašti-šat*, in which case we must acknowledge that Aštišat was once a city of Asthianē [Asthianenē] later transferred to Tarōn ⁴. The remaining provinces lay to the south, between the Euphrates and the western Tigris.

The territory including Sopenē, Anzitenē, and Sopenenē, as well as Angelenē [Ingilenē], had been known in earlier times under the single name of Sopenē. According to Strabo, the bed of the Euphrates was its western boundary, and in the south it was separated from Mesopotamia by the Masios, one of the main branches of the Taurus, which lay above Nisibis. In the north Sopenē stretched to Akilisenē. Its eastern limits can be determined by the position of its capital Karkathiokerta, which "adjoined the Tigris", and probably stood on the site of Martyropolis ⁵. The Armenian historian Faustus [of Byzantium] put the castle of Bnabeł, where the treasure of the Armenian kings was kept, into Sopenē [Cop'k'] ^{5a}. Bnabeł is the *κάστρον Βαναβήλων* of George of Cyprus and the small modern village of Benabil, a few kilometers from Mardin. Also in Sopenē lay the village of *Phtr*, Phitar, the native place of the blessed Habiba; it should be identified with the modern *Phitar [Phittur, Fittar], which is also found not far from and to the west of Mardin ⁶. Hence, it is evident that Strabo did not exaggerate the frontiers of Sopenē on the Mesopotamian side. Sopenē, within the indicated limits, is primarily a political term; in the ethnographic sense it contained a mixture of populations, but there are no indications of subdivisions in Strabo, who was well acquainted with Sopenē. The partition of the country into separate provinces came later as part of the development of feudal-*naḫarar* institutions.

The first district to separate itself because of its ethnic composition,

was probably Anzitenē. Even in the sixth century, this region was inhabited by the nation of the Urta, distinguished from the Armenians and the Syrians by their language ⁷. Ptolemy is the first of the classical writers to mention Anzitenē as one of the three provinces in the southern part of Armenia, between the Euphrates and the sources of the Tigris ⁸. According to the usual point of view, Anzitenē [Anjit'] lay on the Ziban-[Tigris], to the south of Asthianenē, but careful investigation shows that this location is not exact ⁹. John of Ephesus, who is very familiar with the region, since he was a native of Angelenē, mentions among other villages of Anzitenē, the village and monastery of Hula whence came the blessed Maras ¹⁰. Near Xarberd [Harput] there is at present a village named Hulvenk with a population of 2,000 inhabitants ¹¹. The last syllable of the name is composed of the Armenian *վանք* [*vank'* "monastery"]; hence, Hulvenk means the monastery of Hul, and there can be no doubt that this Hul is to be identified with the historical Hula. Another village, not far from the same city, is named Tilenzit (Thil-enzit), and it is impossible to miss the ancient name of the province in the second part of its name. *Thil-enzit* means, in Syrian, the *hill of enzit* ^{11a}. These two examples provide the basis for moving Anzitenē from the system of the Tigris to the plain of Harput. The historical indications of both ancient and relatively recent authors support this. According to Ptolemy, the cities of Mazara, Anzita, Belkania, Arsamosata (*Μαζάρα, Ἀνζίτα, Βελκανία, Ἀρσαμόσατα*), among others, were found in Anzitenē, while according to the *Armenian Geography*, it included Covk' and Horē-berd (*Մուկ, Հորէ-բերդ*) ^{11b}. In 1073 the Roman commander Philaretos, an Armenian Chalcedonian, stopped in Mšar and demanded the submission of T'ornik, Prince of Sasun; having received a rebuff, Philaretos marched against him. T'ornik prepared to repulse the attack, came forth to Čapł-Ĵur, thence to the city of Ašmušat, and met the enemy on the field of Aleluya. Philaretos was defeated and saved himself through flight to Xarberd, while T'ornik returned home to Sasun. "All this happened" says the historian "in the province of Anjit' on the field of Aleluya" ¹²; hence the localities of Xarberd, Ašmušat and Aleluya were considered to be in the province of Anzitenē.

Mšar, where Philaretos established his camp, was a district of

the Muşar mountains by the side of the Euphrates opposite Melitenē [Malatya] in which stood the Armenian monastery of St. Aaron (Surb Aaron). Between Muşar and Xarberd we know of the town of Belhan at the foot of the mountains of the same name, the *Βελκανία* of Ptolemy. South of it, the village of Mazara on the river which flows into the Euphrates is identical with the historical Mazara. In the famous itinerary of the *Tabula Peutingeriana* Mazara is indicated as the fourth station after Melitene: "Melentines VIII ad aras IX Thirtoma VIII Mazara" ^{12a}. *Ad aras* designated the bank of the Euphrates at the village of Iz-oglu [Izolu], where the ferrying over the river takes place at present and probably likewise in antiquity. From here to the modern village of Mazara there are no more than 40 kilometers, which correspond to the 25 miles from the river bank to Mazara indicated in the itinerary ¹³.

The Armenian Covk' is now rendered by the Turkish translation Goleuk [Hazar gölü]. This is a small alpine lake not far from Harput and near the sources of the western Tigris with a castle of the same name on an island ¹⁴. *Horē-berd* may be identified with some likelihood with Xarberd, especially if we admit that the *Harta-bert* of Arab writers is to be read *Hare-bert* ¹⁵. As we have seen, Xarberd lay in Anzitenē on the plain of Aleluya. Here too was to be found the city of Šamušat. Alelu-*dašt* can therefore be identified with the "fair plain" of ancient sources in which was found the city of Arsamosata ¹⁶. The plain of Xarberd — Harput fully deserves this flattering name, since even in our times it is outstanding for its fertility and populousness. A large part of the 300 villages in the kaza of Harput are situated in this plain. It is called Oluova in Turkish, *i.e.* the great plain, but it is evident that the word Olu, going back to the ancient name Aleluya, is merely assimilated to a Turkish meaning.

The other city of Anzitenē, Šamušat, stood on the Arsaniās — Murad-su, not far from Xarberd. According to the description of the Arab writer of the beginning of the tenth century, Ibn-Serapion, the river Arsaniās, which he also calls the river of Shamshāt, "flows by the gate of the city of Shamshāt, and then passes near the gate of a fortress called Hişn-Ziyād". Ibn-Khordadbeh, an author of the ninth century, also mentions that "Shamshāt is not far from Hişn-Ziyād". The indications of Yāqūt tend to the same conclusion. According to them, the Armenian city of Shimshāt, already in ruins in his time, *i.e.* at the beginning of the thirteenth century, still existed

with a very small population between Xarberd and Balu. Hişn-Ziyād, that is to say the fortress of Ziyād, is another name for Harta-berd or Xarberd, as Yākūt among others attests ¹⁷.

In the plain of Harput, between lake Golcuk and the Arsanias, stands the village of Shamushi, Shamushiya or Shamshey, whose name recalls the ancient Shamshāṭ. The complete identification of the two is perhaps be hindered by the description of Samosata [*sic*] as a fortress set in the mountains. According to Ibn-Serapion there is "a mountain that is over the city, and which closes it in", and Tacitus calls the city a *castellum* ^{17a}. It is possible that the historical city was in a region closer to the mountains, and that upon its destruction, the surviving population moved to the nearby plain and transferred the name of its native city to the new settlement, as has often been the case. We are not familiar with the topography of modern Shamushi, it may be a fortified place, and even if it becomes evident that Shamushi cannot be identified with the ancient city from this point of view, it still remains the area in whose neighbourhood the ancient site must be sought. This conclusion is further supported by the fact that the history of the campaigns of Paetus and Vologaesús places Samosata on the main road from Melitenē to Amida and Tigranokerta, and Shamushi lies on this route.

According to Tacitus, Paetus, the Roman commander sent against Vologaesús, set out from Cappadocia and halted in the region of Arsamosata to bar the enemy's way.

... he posted three thousand picked infantry on the neighbouring heights of the Taurus, ... his cavalry, were stationed in a part of the plain. His wife and son found concealment in a fortress known as Arsamosata. ...

... the river Arsanias (... ran hard past the camp) ¹⁸.

When Vologaesús advanced, the Romans standing in his path could not withstand the attack and were thrown back; the survivors retired to out of the way places while the wounded fled back to the camp. Vologaesús besieged the fortress in which those unfit to bear arms had found protection, *i.e.* Arsamosata, in which Paetus' family was apparently not the only one to have taken refuge ^{18a}. Paetus was forced to begin negotiations and obtained the raising of the siege on the conditions that all soldiers should leave the confines of Armenia and that the fortress should be handed over to the Parthians. Paetus

built a bridge to cross the Arsánias, which flowed past the boundary of his camp, but the Parthians seized it and prevented the crossing. The Romans were then forced to set out in another direction. Paetus retreated hastily, and on the banks of the Euphrates he met Corbulo, who had previously been in Syria but was hastening to his assistance through Kommagēnē and Cappadocia. We see from this account that the mountain passes occupied by Paetus lay in the part of the Taurus which runs down to the Arsánias above Arghana-Maden. Vologaesús crossed the mountains and besieged Arsamosata-Shamuṣhi, near which stood Paetus' camp. Paetus intended to cross the Arsánias and go north, but the Parthians forced him to move westward toward Malatya. The meeting with Corbulo occurred at the crossing of the Euphrates. From the account of Cassius Dio we learn that Vologaesús "closed to Paetus the way to Rhandaia on the bank of the Arsánias", hence Rhandaia was the place to which Paetus had originally been making his way when he met Parthian opposition. From the sense of the story, this locality stood on the opposite side of the Arsánias, that is to say on the right bank of the river^{18b}. The crossing of the Arsánias [now] takes place above Shamuṣhi at the town of Pistek [Pertek?]. Here, on the banks of the river, lie the ruins of an unknown ancient city, which are suited to Rhandaia, the Armenian *Eränd*, a locality well known from the history of the Armenian king Pap in Faustus [of Byzantium]¹⁹.

In Anzitenē Ptolemy mentions the settlement of *Ἀνζίρα*, whose site is even less well defined than that of Arsamosata^{19a}. Ephraem Syrus mourns in his poems the fate of the fortress of Anzit, which suffered in his time from the attacks of the Persians together with a number of other cities. This is unquestionably Ammianus Marcellinus' fortress of Ziata, which was indeed taken by the Persian king Šāhpuhr in 359, and yet the *castellum* Ziata seemingly should correspond to Ḥiṣn-Ziyād, the name given by Arab writers to Xarberd^{19b}. The relationship between Ziata and Ephraem's Anzit, and both their relationships to *Ἀνζίρα* are completely unclear. The problem is further complicated by the fact that Ibn Serapion also knows and speaks of a city named Hinzit, but he places it in a locality far from Xarberd. According to his information the Euphrates rose on the Akṛadkhis mountain, and flowed past the foot of the Misfīnā mountains "it passes the city of Kamakh and by Ḥiṣn-al-Minshār. Next, after flowing past Malatya which is two miles from its bank, it comes to

the city of Hinzit, next to the city of Sumaysât, etc. ...". In this description, Anzit stands between Malatya and Sumaysât — Syrian Arsamosata [Samosata]. According to the words of the same author, one of the tributaries of the Euphrates flows out of the mountains at 62°20' by 41°5', passes through the city and province of Anzit and empties into the Euphrates at 61°30' by 39°20' ^{19c}. From these coordinates the tributary on which Anzit was standing flowed from east to south-west and, therefore, lay, together with the city, on the east bank of the Euphrates. It is difficult to say which tributary is intended, but the position of the Calgar river on which Mazara is situated seems the most suitable, and Anzit should be sought there ^{19d}. On this side the province of Anzitenē stretched all the way to the bank of the Euphrates, as may be seen from the indication that the plain of Anzit began immediately beyond Malatya, on the other side of the Euphrates ²⁰.

The precise determination of the position of Anzitenē is very important, as it was the probable cause of the split of Sopenē into two parts. Since Anzitenē formed the central strip of the original Sopenē, its separation from the complex broke Sopenē into eastern and western or rather north-western and south-eastern parts. The first of these lay along the Arsantias, next to Balabitenē and between the Munzur [Mzur] river and the Euphrates. It stretched northward past Çemişgezek, Mazgirt and Xozan [Hozat] to the natural boundary of the *Kazikli mountains and was called Šahunian Sopenē or Šahē, or occasionally Lesser Sopenē in opposition to Greater Sopenē, *i.e.* to the south-eastern half which lay south of Asthianenē on either side of the western Tigris. As we have already seen, this portion reached both Benabel and Phitar on the right.

According to the indication of Faustus of Byzantium ^{20a}, Šahunian Sopenē lay between Anzitenē and the Mzur. In the *Armenian Geography* Sopenē is defined as the province "to the west of Palmatun and Balahovit" ^{20b}, *i.e.* it coincides with Šahunian Sopenē. It is curious that Ptolemy also includes merely the territory of Lesser Sopenē under the name of Sopenē. Sopenē, for him, is one of the provinces included between the Euphrates and its tributary the Arsantias and it lies next to Akilisenē and Asthianenē along this tributary of the river, *i.e.* along the Arsantias ²¹. Among Armenian writers only Faustus knows and distinguishes between two Sopenēs. In western literature the two Sopenēs are mentioned in the protocols

of the Council of Chalcedon in 451. Numbered among the provinces represented at the Council, we meet Mesopotamia with six representatives: the bishops of Amida, *Sophenē*, Anzitenē, Martyropolis, Ingile-Angelenē and *Sophanenē*²². The distinction between the two provinces emerges very clearly from the decrees of Justinian already cited; here too it is expressed by the names *Sophenē* and *Sophanenē*. Thus western documents differentiate two names that are in fact but variant forms of the same name. From the Graeco-Roman point of view the form *Sophenē* is more ancient and customary than *Sophanenē*. It is the one met in Strabo, Pliny, Flavius Josephus, Plutarch, Appian, Diodorus Siculus, Ptolemy and others. The form *Sophanenē* occurs for the first time in the second century author Appian, as given by Stephen of Byzantium²³. We do not know the meaning which Appian attached to *Sophanenē*, but the fifth century writer who made use of him apparently failed to notice the difference between the two forms. It is doubtful that Cassius Dio, in whose work we also find the form *Sophanenē*, used it in distinction to *Sophenē*^{23a}. It is very likely that for him as well as others *Sophanenē* and *Sophenē* were identical: they used these terms for one and the same country, with which they were more or less familiar, and without any particular territorial delineation. The difference between them, which began to appear later was purely conventional.

The country with which we are concerned was known long before the Christian era under the name of *Supani*, to which corresponds the form *Σωφαν-ηνή*, consequently, even though *Σωφηνή* is the earlier form of *Sophenē* from the Graeco-Roman point of view, historically *Sophanenē* is unquestionably the more ancient form. The pre-Armenian version, *Supani* came into Armenian in the form *Cop'k'*, where the final *k'* (*p*) is merely the equivalent of *-ani*, the plural ending of the language used by the pre-Armenian inhabitants of the country. The name *Supani* has been preserved correctly in the Syrian form *Šōphan-āyē*, probably as a result of the closer relationship between the Syrians and the ancient populations^{23b}. The Armenian and the Syrian versions overlapped in a real, that is to say in a geographical sense; they designate the same country primarily settled by peoples of both Armenian and Syrian descent. The Greeks first became acquainted with *Sophenē* from its Armenian side, i.e. with the north-western part which adjoined the Euphrates and had a predominantly Armenian population. Hence they began to call

the entire country *Soph-enē* from the Armenian name *Cop'k'* (as so likewise *Gugar-k'* — Γωγαρ-κηή). When, however, Mesopotamia became a Roman province under Trajan in the second century A.D., and the Romans came into close contact with the southern side of *Sophenē* as well, they likewise adopted the Syrian form of the name, and *Sophanenē* began to be used side by side with *Sophenē* as an equivalent term.

After the division of *Sophenē*, its parts kept their former single name among the Armenians, with the distinguishing epithets: *Šahu-nian*, or Lesser, and Greater *Sophenē*. In the Graeco-Roman world an understanding of the situation could come only after 298, when the upper reaches of both channels of the Tigris came under Imperial authority. Then the Armenian form, *Cop'k'-Sophenē*, was given to Upper *Sophenē* and the Syrian version *Sufan-Sophanenē*, to the Lower portion, adjoining Syria. The Syrians likewise began to refer to Armenian *Sophenē* as *Sōf'*²⁴, but the final setting of the names did not take place at once; even in the fifth century it was not familiar to everyone, as we seem from the example found in Stephen of Byzantium. *Sophanenē* in its new sense, *i.e.* as an equivalent for Armenian Greater *Sophenē*, is used for the first time in an imperial decree of 387 in the name of "*Gaddanae satrapae Sophanenae*"^{24a}. The Syrian name of the satrap points to Greater *Sophenē* where Syrian influence was strong.

Part of *Sophenē* was known as *Angelenē* [Ingilenē]. Its appearance seems to date from a period later than the partition of *Sophenē*, and it grew out of Greater *Sophenē* in the same manner as *Anzitenē* had developed from the original undivided *Sophenē*. In the fourth century, under the Christian Arsacids, *Angelenē* [Angel-tun] was a royal domain. During the reign of Aršak II, in a difficult moment of general discontent, when the feudatories-*naxarars* began to abandon the King, *Angelenē* remained loyal to him, and when Mušel Mami-konean re-established Arsacid power over the rebellious provinces, *Angelenē* was not subjected to the same punishment as the other districts, "because, having been a royal domain from very early times, the entire province remained in submission". During the disastrous raids of Prince Meružan Arcruni, Aršak II remained in *Angelenē*, and this province evidently became the temporary seat of the Arsacid kings. Here "were to be found the tombs of the Arsacids and were kept the treasures accumulated by their ancestors

from ancient times". For this reason Meružan rushed through Arzanenē and Greater Sophenē, and broke into Angelenē to lay siege to the fortress of Angeḷ. Under Aršak and his father Tiran, Drastamat was known as Prince of Angelenē, but in fact he did not possess the province in his own right. He ruled it by appointment of the king whose favour he enjoyed. The defense of the royal fortress and its treasure was entrusted to him, and his actual title was *Ostikan*, a name found in connexion with the *Ostan*, which probably meant the ruler of the royal Ostan or domain. As such, he occupied a high rank among the other princes²⁵. A powerful base in the south, that is to say in the region which played such a large role in the conflict between the Romans and the Persians, was indispensable for the Arsacids. They fortified themselves in the castle of Angeḷ, thus laying the foundation for the creation of the separate district of Angelenē, which took its name from the fortress. The section of Sophenē surrounding the castle of Angeḷ and washed by the waters of the Ziban-Tigris and of the Arghana-su entered into it, and the ruins of the famous castle of Angeḷ still lie near the little settlement of Eḡil, which has preserved its ancient name. With the separation of Angelenē, the limits of Sophenē were significantly diminished on that side. On the left bank of the Tigris it kept only the district of Martyropolis, and even this was later transferred to Arzanenē, as we see from the *Armenian Geography*.

Thus the provinces described were situated between the Tigris and the Euphrates in the very order in which they are given in Faustus: the renegade Meružan Arcruni at the head of the Persian army crossed in a devastating raid "through Arzanenē [Aḥjnik'], Greater Sophenē [Cop'k'], Angelenē [Angeḷtun], Anzitenē [Anjit.], Šahunian Sophenē", and further to the north through [Muzurōn] Mzur, Daranaḷik' and Akilisenē [Ekeḷeaç]^{25a}. Hence both Sophenēs, Angelenē and Anzitenē, together with Asthianenē and Balabitenē, made up the six autonomous principalities. They are all named in the official documents cited above, and yet we have seen that Procopius lists only five satrapies; whence comes this discrepancy? The number five is probably suggested to Procopius by the historical memory of those five so-called trans-Tigritane satrapies which were so famous in the history of Persian-Roman relations. In 298, after the shameful defeat inflicted by Galerius Maximianus on the Persian king Narseh, "Ingilene with Sophene and Arzanene with Corduene and Zabdicene", i.e. five

provinces in all passed to the Romans ^{25b}. In 363 the Persians took their revenge and the dreaded Šāhpuhr II, having defeated Jovian,

... obstinately demanded the lands which (as he said) were his and had been taken from him long ago by Maximianus; ... five provinces on the far side of the Tigris: Arzanena, Moxoena, and Zabdicena, as well as Rehimena and Corduena ... ²⁶.-

The historian presents the matter in such a way that it would seem as though the same provinces are meant in both cases. In reality only three of the provinces conquered from the Persians in 298 were subject to return in 363, namely Arzanenē, Korduenē and Zabdikenē, while two provinces, Ingilenē and Sopenē were left behind. The historian, having added Moxoenē and Rehimenē to the three returned provinces, re-establishes the number five, while pretending, through ignorance or intentionally, that these five provinces were identical with the ones occupied by the Romans in 298. To be sure, Moxoenē is part of Arzanenē, and Rehimenē part of Zabdikenē, and they had unquestionably entered into the complex of lands ceded by the Persians in 298. But if they are to be counted separately, the Romans received not five but seven provinces in 298, of which they returned five in 363. In addition to Peter the Patrician and Ammianus Marcellinus, the "quinque gentium trans Tigridem" are also the ones mentioned by Procopius, since there is no doubt that Procopius confused the Armenian autonomous principalities with the "five trans Tigrisane satrapies" ^{26a}.

In reality then there were six privileged principalities. Of these, two: Asthianenē and Belabitenē, were taken away from the other Armenia and added to the group of independent satrapies at a slightly later date, probably in 377. The peace of 363 had freed the hands of the Persians as far as Armenia was concerned, and Šāhpuhr II declared against king Aršak II a long war which ended only with the latter's death. The emperor Valens thought it indispensable to interfere in Armenian affairs. Consequently he sent an embassy to Šāhpuhr to inform him that the Persian claims in Armenia were illegal, and that, according to the specific terms of the treaty of 363, the inhabitants of that country had been granted their independence. The envoys, Victor the commander of the cavalry, and Urbicius Dux of Mesopotamia, carried out their mission correctly and honourably, but Ammianus notes that they allowed themselves a deviation from the terms they had brought and accepted in addition "some small terri-

tories that offered themselves to them in that same Armenia". Subsequently, a return embassy "offered to the emperor these same lands that our [Roman] envoys had recklessly taken" ²⁷. The negotiations did not avert a conflict, since both sides remained dissatisfied with the results and prepared for war. Šāhpuhr even ordered "to recover by arms ... the lands which Count Victor and Urbicius had taken over". The order was obeyed and the Romans could not retaliate, since the invasion of the Goths in Thrace diverted the attention of the Emperor from the Orient. He was forced to terminate the matter with a truce and again sent Victor to the Persians, "that he might, in view of the great impending dangers arrange about the status of Armenia" while he himself set out from Antioch to the capital. An agreement took place and peace was restored, but we do not know on what terms ²⁸. Evidently the Romans accepted the offer of the Persian ambassador, the Surena, which had previously been rejected by Valens. Specifically, the Romans agreed to occupy those minor territories in Armenia which had been under discussion since the beginning of the negotiations.

These small territories, "*regiones exiguae*" were Asthianenē and Belabitenē. The conflict had essentially arisen on the basis of the relations established by the treaty of 363. This treaty concerned Armenia in general and the Tigris provinces in particular. It soon became evident that the clause concerning Armenia was differently interpreted by the two opponents. The Persian king considered himself free in respect to Armenia, while the emperor Valens insisted on the inviolability of the country, "whose people had been granted permission to live independently". The Persians felt themselves to be the masters of Armenia, and in order to forestall the claims of the Emperor, they agreed from the beginning to cede to him out of the Armenian territory subject to Persia. Asthianenē and Belabitenē, i.e. the provinces adjoining the imperial satrapies. The date of this event cannot be set with precision. Valens had come to the Orient to carry on the war, and was at Antioch in 377 ²⁹. The second embassy of Victor to the Persian king took place at this same time, and the reunion of the two provinces with the Satrapies must belong to this same period. Ammianus Marcellinus, relating the events of 359-360, says that the trans-Tigritane nations were separated from Armenia by the Taurus ³⁰. This means that in 360 Asthianenē and Belabitenē, the provinces lying beyond the Taurus, were not yet reunited with the Satrapies. This reunion took place only in 377-378.

III

ARMENIA INTERIOR

The composition of the provinces of *Armenia Interior* and their position along the Euphrates — Xorjayn and Palnatun, the modern Kiği kazasi — Mzur, on the Munzur deresi — Daranaḡik', the district of Kemah — Ekeleaḡ, the district of Erzincan — Derjan, a portion of the modern Tercan kazasi — Manaḡik', and its location according to Aristakēs Lastivertçi — Karin and Šalaḡom — Aliwn-Analibna — The information on *Armenia Interior* found in western sources — The split of this province at an earlier date — Analysis of some toponyms, the characteristic ending *-ali*, *-eli* and its significance — Its connexion with *Aliwn* and *Aly*-s — *Aly*-bi and *Chaly*-bi — *Armenia Interior* and Tzanika, the frontier zone between Armenian and Tzan territory The Tzans and the topography of their land: the main sites and their location.

The part of the former Arsacid holdings surrounded by the Euphrates and inherited by the Roman Empire formed Greater or Interior Armenia, "*Magnum Armeniam, quae interior dicebatur*", or "*τὴν μὲν ἐνδοτάτην*" as it is called in the *Novella* of Justinian^a. Eleven *gawars*, or districts, of Arsacid Greater Armenia entered into it: Xorjayn [Chorzanē], Palnatun, Mzur [Muzuron], Daranaḡik', Ekeleaḡ, Aliwn, Manaḡik', Derjan [Derxenē], Karin, Šalaḡom, and Sper [Suspiritis]. Among them, the following are also found in Faustus: Daranaḡik', with the settlements of T'ordan and Ani; Ekeleaḡ, with the settlements of T'il and Xaḡ; Karin, with the settlement of Maragay; Mzur, and Sper. Agat'angelos knows of Daranaḡik', with T'ordan; Ekeleaḡ, with Erēz and T'il, and of Derjan, with Bagayarič. Koriwn, in addition to Ekeleaḡ and Derjan, also mentions two more districts: Xorjanakan, and Palnatun. Of the remaining districts, Šalaḡom is first found in Łazar P'arpeçi, and Manaḡik' in Sebēos. Finally the eleventh district, Aliwn, is known in Armenian literature only from its listing in the *Armenian Geography*, and it is given in some cases as Ariwc¹.

According to the evidence of the Armenian sources, these provinces were distributed along the system of the Euphrates. Xorjayn, as we have said above, lay along the river [Mews] Gayl, the present Keli or Perisuyu, and corresponded approximately to the contemporary Turkish Kiği kazasi^{1a}.

Palnatun, next to Xorjayn, on the lower Gayl at a point above its confluence with the Munzur deresi was enclosed between the Mazgirt mountains, in the west, the Sipilus-Armenian Surb Loys [Salbüs?] mountains, in the north, and the bank of the river. The district was named after its principal town Palin [Bağın], which has survived as a small settlement to this day ². Palin was considered an important fortress, as was the neighbouring Balu. Both fortresses are found in George of Cyprus under the forms Palios and Ba<iou>louos in the corresponding provinces of Palinēs and Bilabetinēs ³.

Next to Palnatun lay the district of Mzur, along the river still called Munzur and at the foot of the mountains of the same name.

The other provinces stretched along the Euphrates from Kamaḫ [Kemah] to its source near Theodosiopolis. North of Mzur, in order, lay Daranaḫik' and Ekeleaç, their positions determined in the first case by the city of Kamaḫ, the ancient Ani ^{3a}, and in the second by the city of Erzincan or Erzenka, the ancient Erēz. They were separated by the Gohanam or Sepuh mountains [Kara daği], the ancient Maneay-ayrk' ⁴. Daranaḫik' occupied the valley of the small Kōmür river, and Ekeleaç was in the neighbouring plain watered by the small streams flowing to the Euphrates from the Sipikör mountains (in Armenian Surb Grigor or St. Gregory's mountains). T'ordan and Garni still stand at the foot of these mountains on the bank of the Euphrates; both localities were part of Daranaḫik' ^{4a}. Beyond the same mountains also stand the settlements of Ekeleaç, Til and Xaḫ [Hahi], on the banks of the river called Gayl in antiquity ⁵. In the east, Ekeleaç reached to the bend of the Euphrates and was adjacent to Manaḫik' and Derjan at that point. The latter name is still preserved in the Turkish Tercan kazasi, with its chief city of Mamahatun. Modern Tercan stretches along both sides of the Euphrates and occupies the course of two streams, the Tuzlasuyu and the Pülk çayı, of which the first empties into the Euphrates from the left, and the second from the right. In size it is much larger than the ancient Derjan and includes not only Derjan but also Manaḫik'. The modern settlement of Pekerçi, near Mamahatun, the ancient Bagayarič in Derjan, gives the position of this district to the north of the Tuzlasuyu, but there is no precise indication of the point at which Derjan was separated from the contiguous Manaḫik'.

Some information as to the relation of Manaḫik' to Derjan and Ekeleaç is found in Aristakēs Lastivertçi. In the chapter entitled

"How in the borders of Mananali there burst out a conflagration of folly", the historian relates the proselytism of a certain Kuncik, "... an incestuous monk who lived hard by the fortified city called Širi, where to the present day they call a hamlet by his name". Among others, the monk converted to his heresy three distinguished ladies, the mistresses of the villages of Kašē and Aliws. On one occasion the heretics tore down a holy cross in the village of Bazmał-biwr in the Paḫr mountains and chopped it to pieces, "so that the vulgar name of the spot was changed and it is called Xač (*i.e.* the cross) to this day". The bishop, named Samuel, came to the place of the crime, seized the heretics, carried them to the city of Ĵermay and punished them with the brand of infamy. Soon after, a judge was sent out to investigate the matter. He came to the province of Ekeleaç and called the bishop before him. Samuel set out to meet him, followed by a great multitude of people, reached "the shore of the Euphrates, where Mananali approaches thereunto", and crossed the river in a boat to the side of "the village called Kot'ēr, for it was there that the judge was". The judge, that is to say the investigator, went from Kot'ēr to the residence of the bishop called P'rris and investigated the matter there ⁶.

According to the sense of the story, Širi, Kašē, Aliws, Ĵermay, Xač and the mountain Paḫr were to be found in Mananali, or as the author expresses it "in the borders of Mananali". As for Kot'ēr, it lay in Ekeleaç, since it is the place specifically named in the area referred to in the general sentence, "he came to the province of Ekeleaç". From its name, the Mananali river, which flows into the Euphrates, must obviously water this province. It should be identified with the Tuzlasuyu, but unfortunately, the course of the Tuzla has not yet been sufficiently investigated. According to some descriptions, it is composed of several tributaries which join together before Mamahatun and flows into the Euphrates at the point where the ancient bridge of Kötür still stands; others distinguish two main branches which meet before Mamahatun and empty into the Euphrates near the bridge but somewhat above the ancient Kötür ⁷.

Kötür is unquestionably the Kot'ēr of the Armenian historian. Historical Kot'ēr stood on the right bank of the Euphrates, however, while the modern village lies on the opposite side of the river. Ancient Kot'ēr must have stood on the left bank of the river since the Euphrates had to be crossed in order to reach it from the mouth of the Mana-

nali river. Furthermore, when bishop Samuel came to Kot'ër, he and the judge left on the following day for P'rris. To do this they did not have to cross the river; hence P'rris, the residence of the bishop stood on the same side of the river as Kot'ër. P'rris still exists at the present time; it is pronounced Piriz and stands on the west bank of the Euphrates⁸. Hence, we believe that the modern Kötür was founded only after the destruction of the ancient Kot'ër.

On the main southern branch of the Tuzla can be found at present the villages of Çerme, Şirin somewhat to the west of it, and Konşa south of the latter. These communities stand very close together and they must coincide with the ancient Ĵermay, Şiri and Kašē. The first of these names must now be pronounced Çerme, according to the rules of phonetic alteration. In manuscripts, the reading Şirni (the genitive of Şirin) is found side by side with Şiri⁹; this is the form preserved in modern Şirin. As for Kašē, since, according to Aristakēs, its mistress was a neighbour of Kuncik who lived in Şiri, and since Konşa now stands not far from Şirin, it is more than likely that modern Konşa is the ancient Kašē.

North-east of Çerme, at the foot of the Dumanli dağı, the village of Xaç still stands at the present time with an Armenian population. Also, a little to the south of the same Çerme are located the Xaç mountains (the Haç dağı) which stretch in a direct chain westward to the Euphrates itself and there bear the name of Bağır Baba dağı. Here, then, just as the historian indicated, are the Paḫr (genitive of Paḫir) mountain, one of whose spurs was the Xaç mountain where the cross insulted by the heretics was revered. The Haç dağı form the watershed of the Tuzla and Perisuyu, and send many streams north and south to both rivers. Consequently, a village standing in their midst might correctly have been called Bazm-ałbiwr (many springs), from the multitude of the surrounding springs. Later this village was re-named Xaç in honour of the cross standing there. The modern village of Haçköy, on the Tuzlasuyu, at the foot of the Dumanli dağı, probably stands in the same relation to the ancient Xaç as the modern Kötür to the historical one¹⁰.

The position of Manalik' is sufficiently clarified by the sites discussed. It stretched from the Bağır Baba-Haç mountains on the north to the Tuzlasuyu. Furthermore, the main or southern branch of the river separated Manalik' from Derjan, while the course of the Euphrates as far as Kötür separated it from Ekeleaç, and beyond the Tuzla began the territory of Derjan.

The frontier point of Derĵan and Karin was the fortress of Xaldoy-arič, which marked the border of Karin. Xaldoy-arič is the present Kağdariç [Büyükkāğdariç] at the confluence of the Sirçeme deresi and the Euphrates near Aşkale ¹¹. Near Xaldoy-arič are mentioned certain Kleisurai, probably the modern Brnakapan [Pirnakaban] — the *narrows* in Armenian — which are found east of Aşkale at the foot of the Kop dağ on the main line from Erzurum to Bayburt. Below Brnakapan begins the famous pass through the Kop dağ which runs for 7 1/2 miles at an altitude of 8,040 feet ¹².

The district of Karin on the upper courses of the Euphrates (Karasu), with its metropolis Karin — Erzurum — lay east of Kağdariç. Adjoining it stood Šatgom [Šalağom] along the Sirçeme, and thereafter, near of Tayk', lay Sper in the district of the present Ispir, along the Çoruh river.

All the sites we have considered are well known in classical literature as well as in earlier times. Strabo is thoroughly familiar with Karin-Karenitis, Derĵan-Xerxenē *pro* Derxenē, and Akilisenē, as the provinces diverted by the Armenians from their neighbours, the Chalybians, Mosynoeci and Kataonians. He likewise knows Sper-Suspiritis, where gold mines were found ^{12a}. Karin, according to Pliny, is the province whence the springs Euphrates, at the foot of the Capotes mountains, to flow through Derxenē and subsequently Anaetica. Anaetica is a secondary name for Akilisenē given it in honour of the goddess Anahit [Anaïtis], whose rites were particularly revered there. Akilisenē is likewise called Anahtakan by Agat'angelos and the country of Anaïtis by Cassius Dio ^{12b}. Ptolemy knows the province of Akilisenē, and Procopius gives the form Ekelesenē, which is closer to the Armenian ^{12c}. Daranalia is found in the protocols of the sixth œcumenical Council of 680. Among those present, we find "George, bishop of Daranalia (or Kamaχ) in Greater Armenia". It is interesting that Daranalia is equated with Analiblae in the Latin translation: "*Georgius episcopus territorii Daranalīs sive Analiblae, Magnae Armeniae regionis*" ^{12d}. The first mention of Chorzanē is to be found in Procopius, who gives two versions: Chorzianenē and Chorzanē, corresponding to the Armenian Xorjean and Xorjayn ^{12e}. George of Cyprus lists Orzianines, Muzurōn, and Palines among the Armenian eparchies ¹³. If we accept the identification of Aliwn with Analiblae or Analibnae, for which there are grounds, as we shall see, the only district of *Armenia Interior* still unknown from classical sources is Šalağom.

With the exception of Šalagom, the names of all the other districts are pre-Armenian in origin. These provinces kept their names, many of which were primarily ethnic designations, after the Armenians conquered them from the small neighbouring nations. Classical and Armenian authors agree on the names of the provinces and their divisions; the unimportant variations found between them can be explained by the fact that the information of Classical sources corresponds to an earlier state of affairs.

Karenitis and Derxenē [Xerxenē], according to Strabo, "border on Lesser Armenia or else are part of it". Since he takes the Euphrates as the boundary between Greater and Lesser Armenia, both districts must have lain partly on the right and partly on the left bank of the river ¹⁴. This position agrees with the evidence of the Armenian sources, according to which, part of the districts under consideration lay on the right side of the Euphrates along the Serçeme deresi and the Pülk çayı ^{14a}.

Strabo likewise knows Akilisenē, as a district on the left bank of the Euphrates:

The Euphrates ... with its winding stream, traverses more country, having its sources in the northerly region of the Taurus, and flowing towards the west through Greater Armenia as it is called, to Lesser Armenia, having the latter on its right and Acilisenē on the left. It then bends towards the south, and at its bend joins the boundaries of Cappadocia ¹⁵.

Hence Akilisenē stretched beyond Kemah to the border of Egin [Kemaliye] the Armenian Akn, the very point at which the bend of the Euphrates begins. According to the same writer, Mithradates, pursued by Pompey, fled to the border of the kingdom of Pontus and " ... seized a well-watered mountain near Dasteira in Acilisenē (near by, also, was the Euphrates, which separates Acilisenē from Lesser Armenia)" ^{15a}, Dasteira is equivalent to modern Dostal on the Euphrates, between Kemah and Akn. Elsewhere, Strabo places Akilisenē between the Taurus and the Euphrates before its bend to the south. Here the Taurus is mistakenly given in place of the Anti-Taurus, as is obvious from the description. The Anti-Taurus begins at the meeting point of the Euphrates with the Taurus, and ends in the eastern part of Armenia,

thus on one side enclosing the middle of Sopenē, and having on its other side Acilisenē, which is situated between the

Antitaurus and the river-land of the Euphrates, before that river bends towards the south ^{15b}.

According to Strabo's description, Akilisenē was located along the Euphrates between Derxenē and the river's bend near Dostal, while in the south it bordered on Sopenē. Strabo's information that Akilisenē was once subjected to Sopenē becomes clear from this description. It was then part of the possessions of Zariadris "king of Sopenē, Acisenē (Akilisenē) Odomantis and certain other countries" ^{15c}. Within these limits, Akilisenē seems to have been a fairly vast territory, including all the lands later occupied by Akilisenē, Daranalia, Mananali, Aliwn, and Muzurōn.

The form Ak-*ilis*-enē is related to Daran-*alik'*, Man-*alik'* and Mard-*alik'* ¹⁶, i.e., it is composed of Akē and *ali* (*աղէ* — *աղի*). The *s* of the Classical form -*ilis* reproduces either the Armenian -*ç* (corresponding to a pre-Classical -*s*) of the nominative, or the *s* of the Classical accusative. A number of geographical names show the ending -*ali*, and some connexion may have existed between these territories in antiquity. To this same category belong both the Aliwn of the *Armenian Geography* and the Analibna, Analiba, or Analibla given by Ptolemy ^{16a}. The Armenian Aliwn, in which the *w* is the weak form of an original *b*, is unmistakably identifiable in the second half of An-*alibna*.

Armenian Aliwn is a province, while Analibna is a small settlement listed by Ptolemy among the cities of Lesser Armenia. According to the *Itinerarium Antonini*, Analibna stood at a distance of 16 miles from Zimara, whereas this distance was only 15 miles according to the *Tabula Peutingeriana* ^{16b}. The ruins of ancient Zimara are still visible near the modern village of Zimara, which has preserved the same name, and is located near Dostal, which we have already mentioned. The precise position of the district of Aliwn is unknown. It probably adjoined Daranalik' since it is listed immediately after it in the *Armenian Geography* ^{16c}. If this is the case, Aliwn coincides with the region in which Analibna was located. In form, An-*alibna* belongs with Dar-*analik'*, Akē-*ali*, and the others. One of the provinces of Lesser Armenia stretching along the Lykos (Kelkit çayı) and contiguous with Akilisenē was called Orbalisenē by Ptolemy another a little further south was given the name of Orbisenē by him. Furthermore Strabo lists one of the provinces included in the possessions of Zariadris as Akilisenē in one place, but as Akisenē in another ¹⁷. If the second form is not merely a mistake for Akilisenē,

the two variants should be taken as having the same formation as Orbalisenē and Orbisenē. The existence of the form *orbis-enē* explains the variant *orb-alis-enē*; this is the composite form containing the word *ali-s* with which we are concerned ¹⁸.

What is the meaning of *ali-s*? John of Erzincan, an Armenian writer of the end of the thirteenth century, derives the name *Daran-ali* from the existence of "salt deposits" in that province ¹⁹, but this is merely a folk etymology. The ancient Manali river was probably renamed Tuzlasuyu, "salty river" in Turkish, in accordance with the same tradition. As is well known, the entire region from the source of the Halys to the valley of the Araxes abounds in rich deposits of salt, and this circumstance might seem to have reflected on the local toponymy. Nevertheless, it is unlikely that the *alis* found in the names under consideration derives from the Armenian *աղի* = salt.

The most likely hypothesis is that **ali* is an adjectival ending of pre-Classical Armenian origin, corresponding to the Georgian *აღი* and the Classical Armenian *եղ*. Accordingly, Mard-ali means merely the Mard-ian (province), Man-ali, the Man-ian and Ak-ilisenē, the Aki-ian one (*cf.* the district of Akē in Vaspurakan). In the proper place we shall see that the nation of the *Αἰνία-νοί* lived in Atropatenē. *Hani*, one of the districts of the province of P'aytakaran, was named after them. Strabo relates that part of them settled in Armenia, "above the Armenians beyond the Abus and the Nibarus" ^{19a}. From his description we can deduce that Abus and Nibarus are Strabo's names for the twin peaks of Ararat. The fortress of Ani lying beyond them, which later became the famous capital of the Bagratids, evidently owed its name to the nation of the Ainia-noi. We know that the form *Hani*, corresponding to the *Hani* of P'aytakaran, can be found side by side with *Ani* in [Movsēs] Xorenaci ^{19b}. We presume that Daranian Ani also had the same origin. Just as the Mardians, who were also immigrants from Atropatenē, were to be found in two sections of Armenia, in Mardastan and Mardalik', so the Ainianoi moving westward occupied localities both in Širak and in Daranalik'. It is even possible that the movement of both peoples from one border of Armenia to the other was brought about by the same causes. The new home of the Ainianoi near the Euphrates must have been called **Analia* (*Ani-ali*) by analogy with Mard-ali, and western authors derived their Analiba-Analibna from it. The *b* is obviously nothing

but the sign of the plural (as in the case of the Georgian $\gamma\delta\circ$). Hence Analiba means the Aniians, as, for example, *Vra-çik'* derives from *Vir-k'* (where *k'* is the equivalent of *b*). We have already noted that Daranalia, Kemah and Analiba are synonyms in the protocols of the Council [of 680] and designate one and the same province. Kemah is another name for the city of Ani in Daranalik^{19c}, and their identification with each other is, therefore, understandable, but what is the relationship between Daranali and Analiba? Should we perhaps split Daranali into *dar-anali*? In such a case it is not difficult to identify the singular form of *analiba* in the second half of the name, while *dar* may be compared with the *der* of *Derjan* - *Der-xenē*. In view of the proximity of *Derjan* to the land of the Tzans, *jan* or *-xene* can perhaps be connected with the *Τζάνοι* — *δωήμυρ* [*Čaniwk'*] in *Movsēs Xorenaçi*, (where *w* derives from *-b*), *šan-ebi-k*^{19d}. As for the initial syllable *der*, it may perhaps be related to *Δρί-λοι*, the name of one of the neighbouring Colchidian peoples the **dar-ili*, where *-ili* is clearly the ending *-eli*, $\gamma\epsilon\lambda\circ$, which we have already noted. In such a case *Derjan* becomes the combination of two ethnic terms similar, for example, to the Armeno-chalybes of Pliny^{19e}.

Derjan has survived to modern times in two forms: *Tercan* and *Dersim*. A small district in the *Dersim* is called *Kozliçan* [*Kozluka*]. We presume that *Dersim* and *Kozluka* are the Arabo-Persian forms of the Armenian *Derjan* and *Ekeleaç*, the medieval *Kelesenē* (from **eke-les-akan*), cf. *Erzincan* from **eriza-kan*.

The place name *Aliwn*, which might lead to the conclusion that *ali* is an independent word rather than a mere ending, does not support the preceding conclusion. However, the form *Aliwn* cannot as yet be taken as a final reading; the hypothetical version [an]aliwn may still be possible. Even if the present reading is to be maintained, a somewhat different explanation might be suggested. The form **alis* begs for a comparison with **Αλυσ*-*Halys*, the name of the famous river which springs from the mountains lying within the boundaries of *Daranalik'*. These mountains form the watershed of the *Halys*, *Euphrates*, and *Lykos*, and *Strabo* derives the name of the *Halys* from the salt deposits found along its course²⁰. Etymologically, the name of the *Ἀλί-ζωνοι*, a people mentioned by *Homer* as living along the same river, also points to the *Halys*. *Strabo*, quoting the Homeric passage, suggests that the *Halizonoi* were the ancient *Chalybes* known as *Chaldaei* in his own time, and he is even inclined to correct

the *Ἀλύβης* of Homer into *Χαλύβης* ^{20a}. The great geographer is undoubtedly right in his identification of the *Chal-ybes* with the *Chal-daei*. The two names are grammatically equivalent, since *ib* and *di* are merely different signs for the plural (as are the Armenian *mh* or the Georgian *ႍႃ*) ²¹. The variant forms may perhaps indicate different regions settled by these peoples, or else, different periods in their history reflecting the influence of the Colchidians and of the Armenians respectively. Pliny refers to those Chalybes who were neighbours of the Armenians as *Armeno-chalybes* ^{21a}. Chaldia is occasionally referred to as an Armenian country ²². As for the Homeric Halybes, the hypothesis of their identification with the Chalybes seems less convincing. Strabo bases his theory on the fact that both owned metal mines, but the Halybes of Homer extracted silver, while the mines of the Chalybes in the time of Strabo brought forth only iron. To reconcile the divergent facts, Strabo supposes that the territory of the Chalybes has "only iron-mines at the present time, though in earlier times it also had silver-mines" ²³. It is of course difficult to verify Strabo's theory. It is by no means impossible that *chal-* and *al-* or *hal-* are dialectal variations of one and the same name. Gutschmid supposed that the name of the Chalybes derived from the Greek word *χαλυψ*—"copper", and that this was the name given to the Pontic peoples who devoted themselves to the mining of metals ²⁴, but the reverse relationship, *i.e.*, the derivation of the Greek name from origin to the country or nation whence copper was conveyed to the Greeks, seems more correct. To be sure, this does not exclude the possibility that *chal* had connexions with the craft of mining; the word had perhaps meant metal in one of the archaic Pontic languages. The comparison of the Halizonoi and the Chalybes is based on nothing more than guesswork. But might not *Hali-zonoi* and *Halybes* (<**ali-ib-i*) be the names of the peoples who worked the salt mines along the Halys river, and might a confusion have arisen between them and the neighbouring Chalybes as a result of the similar character of their mining activities. In that case the Armenian *Aliwn* (**aliñn*) and perhaps an-*aliba* correspond to the classical *Alyb-a*. As for the name of the Halys river, it has an independent relation with the *g'ala* and *šg'ali* which are the Laze and Georgian words for "river".

The section of Armenia studied here (*i.e.* *Armenia Interior*), adjoined the Tzan country in the north. Beyond the border provinces of Ekeleaç, Derjan, and Sper, opened the valleys of the Lykos-Kelkit

and of the Çoruh, bound on their northern and southern sides by lofty mountains. According to the *Armenian Geography*, these valleys lay outside the borders of Greater Armenia and belonged to Lesser Armenia ^{24a}. Procopius considers it to be Armenian territory and mentions a number of cities and fortresses in it. Among them was found the city of Satala, and "[Justinian] also built a very strong fortress not far from Satala in the territory called Osrhoenē". In the same district, Pompey captured a fortress which had stood on a hilltop from ancient times; he greatly strengthened its fortifications and called it Koloneia. Here were likewise located the fortresses of Baiberdōn and Areōn, as well as Lysiormon and Lytararizōn. New fortifications were raised by Justinian in the small village called Germani Fossatum. In addition to all these, Procopius also mentions the Armenian cities of Sebasteia and Nikopolis ²⁵, and places all these sites in "the Armenia which is on the right of the Euphrates river", as against "Greater Armenia", in which Theodosiopolis, Bizana, and Tzumina were to be found ²⁶.

The historian then proceeds to a description of Tzanika, "... for the Tzani ... are neighbours of the Armenians", and Schamalinichōn, where Justinian built the first church for the newly converted Tzans, lay in this region ^{26a}. Furthermore,

It happens that a certain point in that land forms the meeting-place of three roads; for the boundaries of the Romans and the Persarmenians and the Tzans themselves begin here and extend from this point. Here he [Justinian] constructed a very strong fortress which had not existed previously, Horonōn by name, making it the mainstay of the peace of the region. For the Romans were first able to enter Tzanica from that point ^{26b}.

Two days' journey from Horonōn lay the stronghold of Chartōn in the land of the Okenitan Tzans, who were one of the many Tzan tribes. East of Chartōn, opened a steep gorge leading northward to the fortress of Barchōn ^{26c}. Still further north, on the slopes of the mountains, were the folds where the cattle of the Okenitan Tzans were sheltered at night, and their pastures.

Beyond the foothills of the mountain, where the place called Cena lies in the level country, as one goes approximately westward there is a fort named Sisilissōn; ... And as one goes on from that fort, there is a certain place on the left,

toward the north, which the natives call Longini Fossatum because in earlier times Longinus, a Roman general, an Isaurian by birth, had made an expedition against the Tzani on one occasion and built his camp there. In that place this Emperor built a fortress called Bourgousnoes, one day's journey distant from Sisilissōn. ... From there begins the territory of the Coxylīne Tzani, as they are called; and here he has now made two forts, one called Schamalinichōn and the other is the one they call Tzanzacōn ²⁷.

Beyond the land of the Tzans, Procopius describes the country stretching along the Euxine Sea and having Trapezos as its capital: ²⁸

From here the territory of the Trapezuntines extends to the village of Susurmena and the place called Rhizaeum, which is two days' journey distant from Trapezus as one goes toward Lazica along the coast. ... On the right of these places rise all the mountains of Tzanica, and beyond them are the Armenians, who are subject to the Romans ^{28a}.

The Boas river flowed down from these same mountains. According to Procopius the Tzans lived in the neighbourhood of the Armenians, at a considerable distance from the sea, and many steep and inaccessible mountains rose in the midst of their land. Extensive stretches of the country were always deserted, and impassable ravines, wooded hills, and uncrossable precipices cut the Tzans off from the sea ²⁹. In 550, a detachment of Tzans participated in the siege of the fortress of Petra; on the way home, it followed the coast to Rhizaion, thence went to Athenai, and finally reached home by way of Trapezos ³⁰. We can deduce from this journey that the Tzans did in fact live far inland from the seashore.

The coastal strip from Trapezos to Rhizaion belonged to the Trapezuntine, and, beyond this point, to the Laze tribes, whereas the mountain districts stretching inland from this strip as far as the source of the Boas constituted the land of the Tzans. It is not clear whether the source of the river lay in Tzanika or in Armenia, since according to one indication it sprang from the Tzan mountains, and according to another, it began near the frontier of Tzanika on the territory of the Armenians living in Pharangion ^{30a}. The position of the cities of Baiberdōn [Bayburt] and Satala, is exactly known, since they still exist at the present time; the former, on the Çoruh, and Satala, now the village of Sadak, near the Kelkit river. Both are assigned to Armenia by Procopius.

Above Sadak and Bayburt stretch the links of a long mountain chain which runs parallel to the coast from the direction of Şebinkarahisar to the estuary of the Çoruh. In antiquity these were called the Parhars or Paryadres mountains, and the section which borders the Çoruh still bears the ancient name of Parhar or Bolhar [Parhar, Parhal]. Since Satala, Baiberdōn and Koloneia (now Koyulhisar) ^{30b} all of which are situated on the southern spurs of the Parhar chain, belonged to Armenia, these mountains must be taken as the frontier between Armenia and Tzanika. According to Procopius, Tzanika lay north of this range and occupied a mountainous territory covered with forests. Consequently, the Tzans did not concern themselves with agriculture, but obtained the necessities of life through brigandage and stock-raising ³¹.

The clarification of the general situation of the territory of the Tzans makes it possible to determine the location of the sites already mentioned. From the multitude of tribes into which the Tzans were divided, Procopius mentions only two, the Okenites and the Coxyline [Koxylinoi]. The former lived south of the latter. The home of the Okenites is determined by the position of Chartōn, the modern Hart, which stands on the western tributary of the Çoruh above Bayburt in the plain of Hart[Hart ovasi]. One day's march west of Chartōn, according to the indication of Procopius, stood the fortress of Horonōn, which served the Romans as a base for the conquest of Tzanika, and whence roads diverged in three directions: to Roman Armenia, to Persian Armenia and to Tzanika ^{31a}. At present, the two main lines of communication from Turkish Armenia to Trebizond, the one from Erzurum via Bayburt and Hart, and the other from Erzurum by way of Sadak, merge not far from Gümüşane. Horonōn stood at this junction point according to the words of Procopius, and indeed, there is a place called in Turkish Halanen hanlar, *i.e.* the village of Halane at the point of intersection of these roads. This Halane is nothing but the ancient Horonōn [*Ὀρονῶν*] *con spiritus asper*. The accuracy of this conclusion is supported by the fact that Halane is at the precise distance from Hart indicated by Procopius, *i.e.* about 40 kilometers (one day's journey for Procopius). Standing as it does at the head of the two mountain passes through which come the Erzincan and Bayburt roads, and serving as their defense, Horonōn-Halane might indeed have played an important part in the conquest of Tzanika, as we are told by the historian ^{31b}.

On the other side of Hart, a gorge stretched toward the north. This is the gorge, called Chaldean (*Χαλδο-γῶρ*) by the Armenians, which forms the valley of the Çoruh river. Here stood Barchōn whose position is unknown though *Βαρχών* is obviously connected with the Parhar mountains which rise above this gorge, and are the very mountains in which were found the folds and pastures of the Okenitan Tzans, specifically in the section of the Parhar range which lay above Hart, since this locality was the center of the tribe. As for the "level country" in which the settlement of Cena (Kena, alternately Okena) was to be found, it must be the end point of the same mountains. Kena is in fact a more ancient form of *Τζαν-* (the guttural *k* turning into a palatal *-τζ* before a soft vowel or an iota subscript). The preferable reading is *Okena in which we find the locative prefix *ο-*, **ho-*, equivalent to the Georgian *sa-*. Okena was the residence of the Kena or Okenitan Tzans. Hence Okena was the homeland of the Okenitan tribe and consequently adjoined their pasture lands and farmsteads.

Sisilissōn is also mentioned by Procopius west of Okena ^{31c}. It is not clear whether a connexion exists between Sisilissōn and the Ziziola of the *Tabula Peutingeriana* and of the *Itinerarium Antonini*. Ziziola, as we shall see, was the last station on the road Nikopolis-Satala and stood 18 miles from the latter ^{31d}. This road lay along the Gayl-Kelkit river, and Ziziola was, therefore, in the neighbourhood of the present Kelkit, not far from Sadak. According to Procopius, Sisilissōn, like Kena, lay on the northern slopes of the Parhar mountains, while Ziziola and Satala were situated on the opposite side. Ziziola is also known from the *Notitia Dignitatum*, and a Roman garrison had stood there long before Justinian ^{31e}. The Tzans were conquered only in the days of Justinian, however, so that their city, Sisilissōn, could not have served as the home of a Roman garrison. Consequently either Ziziola is not to be identified with Sisilissōn, and belonged in Armenia rather than Tzanika, while Sisilissōn together with Okena should be sought in the northern foothills of the Parhar range; or, if the phonetic similarity between Ziziola and *Σισιλίσσ-ων* may not be disregarded, Okena will also have to be sought in the neighbourhood and to the east of Ziziola, i.e. in the plain of Bayburt. We are compelled to acknowledge a certain inconsistency in Procopius, who places Satala in Armenia while locating the adjoining Sisilissōn-Ziziola in Tzanika. Perhaps Sisilissōn served as a Tzan border post in the

direction of Satala, as did Hart in that of Bayburt. In general, the country of the Tzans lay north of the Parhar range, while Hart, the center of the Okenitans, stood further south, opposite Bayburt and Sadak. Sisilissōn-Ziziola, as a relatively southern Tzan locality, apparently stood in the same relation to the whole of Tzanika.

One day's march from Sisilissōn lay Bourgousnoes, not far from the Fossatum Longini, and beyond Bourgousnoes began the district of the Koxylines, with the cities of Schamalinichōn and Tzanzakōn. At present, the village of Zavzoka stands, on the Kara-dere su nearer the coast, in the vicinity of Sürmene, and its position suits Procopius' description of *Τζανζάκ-ων* ³². South of Zavzoka, on the same river, the name of another village, Zimla [Küçükzimla or Büyükzimla], recalls the ancient *Σχαμαλινίχ-ων*. Judging from this, the Koxylines occupied the valley of the Kara-dere. *Κοῦς-υλί-νοι* is made up of the elements **koks* and *uli*, the Georgian ული. The region adjoining Trebizond in the west is now called Koše and it is impossible to overlook the ancient *Κοῦς-* in its name. We know that the memory of the Tzans has been preserved in the modern toponym, Djanik [= Samsun], which includes the lower course of the Harşit çayı, but the Tzans were driven there at a later date ^{32a}. In antiquity the Tzan tribes lived east of the Harşit, from the vicinity of Ardasa and Gümüşhane all the way to Hemşin. Hence, at that time they occupied the entire range of the Parhar and partially spilled over into the valley of the Boas-Çoruh and of the Gayl-Kelkit. Zigana stands north of Ardasa, on the main road to Trebizond, at the foot of the mountains bearing its name. In antiquity, Zigana was an important place and served as residence for one of the five bishops of the eparchy of Lazika ³³, and from an ecclesiastical point of view Tzanika was part of Lazika. Thus the Tzans had been one of the numerous peoples who had settled the country known as Khaldia in more ancient times, and, with the growing political importance of the Tzans in the seventh century, the entire country became known as Tzanika. A little later, in the eighth century, the ancient name was revived, and we know that at the time of the division of the Theme of Armeniakōn, one of its parts received the name of Khaldia.

IV

LESSER ARMENIA — *ARMENIA MINOR*

History of the territory of Lesser Armenia — Her role in the history of Armenia — Armenia as part of Cappadocia — Greater Cappadocia and Cappadocia Pontica — The division of Cappadocia into strategies — Cappadocia Pontica — The divisions of Cappadocia according to Ptolemy — Description of the strategies and of their development in Strabo — The separation of Lesser Armenia — Lesser Armenia *proprie dicta* and her five districts: Orbalisenē, Aitulanē, Hairetikē, Orsenē, and Orbisenē — Their topography: the cities according to Ptolemy, the stations according to the *Itinerarium Antonini* and the *Tabula Peutingeriana* — The main circuit route — The internal routes — Their clarification and their comparison with the modern lines of communications — The identification of ancient sites — Closest possible determination of the boundaries of Lesser Armenia — Lesser Armenia as an administrative unit within the Empire — The *Verona List* and the *Laterculus* of Polemius — The evidence of ecclesiastical geography — The division of Lesser Armenia into Armenia I and II — The chief cities of both portions.

The Armenian territory located on the western bank of the Euphrates was called from ancient times Lesser Armenia (ἡ μικρὰ Ἀρμενία) as against Greater Armenia. The position of this land in the history of Armenia has been rather curious. After serving as the cradle of national and political life, so to speak, Lesser Armenia was torn away from the rest of Armenia and set on a path of denationalization^a. She had been the first to win political independence among the ruins of the Achaemenid Empire, and to enjoy the rule of native princes long before the appearance of the kingdoms of Zariadris in Sophenē and of Artaxias in the valley of the Araxes. Strabo notes that,

This country is fairly fertile. Lesser Armenia, like Sophenē, was always in the possession of potentates, who at one time were friendly to the other Armenians and at other times minded their own affairs. They held as subjects the Chaldaei and the Tibareni, and therefore their empire extended to Trapezus and Pharnacia¹.

But her good fortune was to be short lived. Soon came the troubled era of Mithradates. Lesser Armenia became subject to the great conqueror in the period of his growing power in Pontus, and after him, she passed to the Romans. Once inside the sphere of Roman world politics, she could no longer free herself or escape Roman influence, and she obediently endured all the changes of fortune which she shared with Cappadocia and the neighbouring Pontic lands. First she passed from hand to hand at the will of the Roman authorities who presented her as a gift to this or that client prince: Pompey gave her to Deiotarius, the tetrarch of Galatia, Caesar to Ariobarzanes of Cappadocia, Caligula to Cottys, prince of Thrace, Nero to Aristobulus. Finally, once under Tiberius, and definitely under Vespasian, she was made into a Roman province.²

The importance of Lesser Armenia has not been sufficiently appreciated in the history of Armenia. In the traditional interpretation, Lesser Armenia is considered to have remained not only outside Armenia, but also outside her cultural sphere as a result of their early separation. This point of view is so firmly entrenched that historians exclude Lesser Armenia without a qualm from the area of Armenian interests. This traditional concept of Lesser Armenia requires a critical review, since the exclusion of an entire region having a native Armenian population from the history of Armenia is unjustified. In reality, Lesser Armenia inherited as its share a very important role in the political life of the Armenians. This role can be appreciated at its true value only if we abandon the ecclesiastical point of view to which Armenian historiography has adhered and to which it still clings. This one sided approach to the subject has hindered the study of Lesser Armenia from the Armenian point of view. The concept of this region is so unclear that many scholars have failed to differentiate it from Cappadocia, and even specialists occasionally confuse it either with Sophenē, or with the later Armenian possessions in Cilicia. Consequently we believe that it is indispensable to halt over the topography of Lesser Armenia, and to establish her importance first as a geographical concept within the course of her history.

The lands of Lesser Armenia were first included among the Roman provinces as a component part of Cappadocia. They remained in that position until the period of Diocletian at the end of the third century. At this time Lesser Armenia was removed to form a separate

province ^{2a}. Under Theodosius the Great at the end of the following century, she was split into Armenia I and II, and at the time of Justinian, the territories of Lesser Armenia underwent a new partition which they shared with the western portion of the former Greater Armenia. In the light of this historical development in Lesser Armenia, it is understandable that her ethnic frontiers failed to preserve their clarity and became blurred through contact with the neighbouring lands. Roman provincial divisions were never based on ethnic grounds, so that in speaking of Lesser Armenia we must take this term as an administrative rather than an ethnic unit. Furthermore her administrative frontiers were often altered through contraction or expansion with regard to the adjoining provinces.

At first Lesser Armenia formed a part of the complex of Cappadocia, a province composed of territories having formerly belonged to the minor rulers of Asia Minor. Before the inclusion of Lesser Armenia, Cappadocia consisted of two parts, Cappadocia proper and Pontus. In the first were included the lands adjoining the Taurus, so that it was called Cappadocia Taurica [ad Taurum], or Greater Cappadocia. The second corresponded to the Pontic shore and was called Cappadocia Pontica [ad Pontem]. Greater Cappadocia, the inheritance of king Archelaus, was divided into ten districts or strategies even in the days of the native rulers according to Strabo. Among these Melitenē, Kataonia, Cilicia, Tyanitis, and Garsauritis were situated along the Taurus, while the other five lay higher, along the Halys river: Lauiansenē, Sargarau-senē, Sarauenē, Chamanenē and Morimenē. Before the transformation of the land into a Roman province, part of Cilicia was turned into an eleventh strategy ³. Cappadocian Pontus occupied the sea coast from Paphlagonia, i.e. the estuary of the Halys, to Colchis. It was separated from Cappadocia proper by a mountain range running parallel to the Taurus with Chamanenē at its western end and Lauiansenē at the eastern one. Both of these prefectures were assigned to Cappadocia ⁴.

After the dissolution of the Cappadocian kingdom, the local or pre-Roman divisions of the country apparently were not altered. Judging from the description of Ptolemy, they lasted at least up to the end of the second century A.D. The Pontic part of the province and Cappadocia proper are likewise kept separate in the *Geography* of Ptolemy, but in his time the Pontic lands had been somewhat reduced in the west, while Cappadocia, on the contrary, had grown

at the expense of Lycaonia. The frontier of Pontus shifted from the Halys to the mouth of the Iris. The stretch from the Iris to the promontory of Herakleia was called Pontus Galaticus, from there to Kerasos [Cerasus] lay Pontus Polemoniachus, and further east to Colchis, came Pontus Cappadocus ^{4a}.

In Galatian Pontus were found Amasia, Pydna (now Fidi), Pontic Komana (now Gömenek [= Kizilköy] near Tokat, and Sebastopolis (now identified with Sulusaray) at the source of the Çekerek-irmağı, the ancient Scylax. The Scylax, a tributary of the Iris, is separated from the Halys by the Çamlıbel mountains, which form the natural frontier between Galatia and Cappadocia.

Ptolemy lists both Neo-Caesarea and Sebaste in Pontus Polemoniachus, hence it stretched southward to the Halys on whose north bank stands Sebasteia-Sivas. The district of Sebasteia was called Kulupenē, and Sebastopolis was also located there ⁵. The province adjoining Kulupenē was Kamisenē, with the small settlement of Kamis, now Kemis, on the Halys east of Sivas. Both districts are known to Strabo who considers them co-terminous with the strategies of Greater Cappadocia: Lesser Armenia and Lauiansenē ⁶. Kamisenē seems to have been a connecting district; to the north of it lay Cappadocian Pontus, to the east Lesser Armenia, consequently Lauiansenē could adjoin her only from the south or rather the south-west. Such a position for Lauiansenē is also supported by the indication of Strabo that Lauiansenē was the most eastern strategy of Greater Cappadocia since it lay at the eastern end of the mountain range at whose other end lay Chamanenē ^{6a}.

Although Ptolemy preserved the ancient division into strategies, in some cases, such as that of Lauiansenē, he referred to districts completely different from those of Strabo. The latter presented his strategies in a given order. Of the ten listed by him, five were disposed along the slopes of the Taurus, and five along the Halys. Next to Lauiansenē on the south lay Sargarausenē along the Karmalas river, now the Zamantisuyu [= Yenice-irmğı]. Morimenē, now Koğhisar [Şereflikoğhisar], near lake Tatta [Tuz gölü], stood in the same position with regard to Chamanenē, the present Haymana kazasi in the vilayet of Ankara. Sarauenē fell along the Halys between Chamanenē and Lauiansenē. The five mountain strategies also followed in order: first Melitenē on the Euphrates (now Malatya), then Kataonia west of it, on the Pyramus river (now Jaihun çayı =

Ceyhan nehri), with the city of Komana on the Sarus river (Saris-su or Gögsu nehri), beyond it Cilicia, with the city of Mazaka, first named Eusebeia and later Caesarea, at the foot of mount Argaeus (now Erciyas dağı), and finally beyond Cilicia, Tyanitis and Garsauritis, as far as lake Tatta ⁷.

Ptolemy lists thirteen districts in Cappadocia:

“ Praefectura Chamanenēs	Armenia Minor ...
» Sargaurasenēs	Melitenes
» Garsauritidis	Praefectura Cataoniae
» Ciliciae	» Murimenae
» Lycaoniae	» Lauiansenae
» Antiochianae	» Arauenes
» Tyanitidis ” ⁸ .	

In this list only Lesser Armenia, Lycaonia and Antiochiana disagree with the listing of Strabo. The last two strategies are in fact carved from the territory occupied by Strabo's eleventh strategy. The main point of divergence remains Lesser Armenia. The editors of Ptolemy's *Geography* usually isolated the description of Lesser Armenia with the five districts following it into a separate chapter, presuming that these districts were part of Lesser Armenia at that time. In the last critical edition, that of Müller, this error of previous editors has been corrected so that Lesser Armenia is now included in the complex of the province of Cappadocia, but in our opinion the problem of the extent of Lesser Armenia has not been solved through this, since it involves the territorial unit and not the political grouping of districts. Melitenē, Kataonia, Murimenē, Lauiansenē, as well as Lesser Armenia herself, might have been assigned through administrative subdivision to Cappadocia, and yet have remained simultaneously a single unit with Lesser Armenia from other points of view.

Melitenē, the first district listed by Strabo, is not called a strategy by Ptolemy, and it is unlikely that the word strategy has been omitted accidentally ^{8a}. For Ptolemy Melitenē was a part of Lesser Armenia. In addition to this, only Kataonia among the remaining strategies, corresponds in location to Strabo's district bearing the same name; Murimenē, Lauiansenē and Arauenē in Ptolemy are completely different districts from those of Strabo. The Lauiansenē and Arauenē of Ptolemy adjoin the Euphrates, the first “ πρὸς μὲν τῷ Εὐφράτῃ ” and the second “ παρὰ μὲν τὸν Εὐφράτην ”, and the settlements of

Corne, Metita, Claudia, Iuliopolis and Barzalo^{8b}, which are stations of the *Roman Itineraries* on the right bank of the Euphrates between Melitenē and Samosata, are located there⁹. According to Strabo, on the other hand, these provinces belonged to the system of the Halys river and not to that of the Euphrates^{9a}. The Lauiansenē and Arauenē of Ptolemy must have lain along the Euphrates, since he assigned to them the same degree of longitude, *i.e.* 71°. Kataonia was also contiguous with Melitenē. At a later date, the part of it which lay on the upper course of the Pyramos river and had Plasta (now Elbistan) as metropolis was known as Lykandos; Armenians were still settled there between the ninth and the eleventh centuries¹⁰. Finally, Murimenē likewise lay not far from these districts, since its co-ordinates (67°30'-69°20') place it east of Caesarea-Mazaka, which is given at 66°30'. Thus, Ptolemy puts the city of Arasaka, which corresponds to the modern Sereseka [Sarkisla?] east of Caesarea and seven hours' journey from it, into Murimenē, but he also includes in this district localities such as Nyssa (now Nize), the birthplace of the famous Church father, and Zoropassos, which is probably the Koropassos of Strabo. These localities indicate the true position of Murimenē along the Halys, near Chamanenē^{10a}. The editors who transferred the description of Lesser Armenia and of the districts we have just discussed into a separate chapter are thus right in a certain sense, since Ptolemy has shifted Murimenē eastward, while simultaneously moving Lauiansenē and Arauenē from the basin of the Halys to that of the Euphrates, near Melitenē and Kataonia, and in the vicinity of Lesser Armenia. The removal of Lesser Armenia from the complex of Cappadocia should correctly be put in a period subsequent to that of Ptolemy, since it took place in the time of Diocletian, but since the territories just discussed generally remained part of Lesser Armenia after this division, we may postulate that their unity with her had some foundation and that it had already existed at an earlier date, *i.e.* before the creation of the separate province of Lesser Armenia.

The discrepancies between the descriptions of Strabo and Ptolemy may be due to nothing more than errors on the part of the latter. Strategies as administrative units must have lost their political importance after the reunion of Cappadocia to the Roman Empire. No longer having any political significance their interest in the period of Ptolemy and thereafter became purely historical; once an

event passes into the realm of history, disagreements concerning it are possible and even inescapable. Ptolemy used not only the earlier geographical works but also various *Itineraries*, such as the ones which have reached us, for the composition of this *Geography*. Being unable to reconcile the divergent evidence of these sources, he ran an obvious risk of falling into errors. In addition to these indications we also know authoritatively that upon the separation of Lesser Armenia from Cappadocia, her capital was considered to be Melitenē ¹¹. When, however, she came to be divided into Armenia I and II, not only Sebasteia, but also Arabissos-Yarpuz, Kukusos-Göksun and even Komana-Şar and Ariarathes-Aziziye [= Pinarbaşı] were included in her ^{11a}.

A certain portion of territory always remained in Lesser Armenia as her inalienable possession whatever the circumstances and in spite of all variations. This may be called Lesser Armenia *proprie dicta*. Ptolemy defines it quite clearly even in the period when Lesser Armenia was still merged with the province of Cappadocia, and this gives us grounds for supposing that the population of this region was composed predominantly if not entirely of Armenians ^{11b}. Ptolemy lists five districts under the name of Lesser Armenia in his narrower sense. The most northern was Orbalisenē, below it came Aitulanē, then Hairetike, still lower Orsenē, and southernmost Orbisenē, following after Orsenē ^{11c}.

The following cities along the Euphrates were found in these districts: Sinerba, Aziris, Dalana, Sismara, Zimara, Dascusa, and, further inland in the mountain region: Satala, Domana, Tapura, Nikopolis, Chorsabia, Charax, Dagōna, Seleoberea, Kaltiorissa, Analibla, Pisingara, Godasa, Eudoixata, Karapē, Kasara, Oromandos, Ispa, Phuphena, Aranē, Phuphagena, Mardara, Varsapa and Orsa ¹².

Many of these localities have vanished without trace, some of them are also known through ancient Roman itineraries and road maps, and some have survived to our times. The *Itinerarium Antonini* and the *Tabula Peutingeriana*, for example, contain such a wealth of material on the topography of Lesser Armenia, that scholarly investigations on the spot would unquestionably yield brilliant results ¹³. For the time being however we must limit ourselves to written sources from which only the general direction of roads with their stations can be determined. The data found in these documents also allows us to define the territory of Lesser Armenia with greater

precision as the space included between the end points: Sebasteia, Nikopolis, Satala and Melitenē. Sebasteia and Melitenē are well known, Sivas and Malatya are important centers in Asia Minor at the present time and the capitals of their respective vilayets. Nikopolis was a city not without fame in antiquity. Founded by Pompey in commemoration of his victory over Mithradates, it stood on the bank of the Lykos. Its position is determined exactly thanks to an inscription containing the name of *Νικόπολις* found at the small settlement of Pürk near Endires¹⁴. Satala, the Armenian Satal lay north of Erzincan on the way to Trapezos, at the point where the village of Sadak stands to this day. Zimara, which was evidently an important place in antiquity, still stands on the bank of the Euphrates south of Erzincan between Kemah and Divriği.

All of the cities which lay along the borders of Lesser Armenia were connected with each other by a circuit road, so that Armenia lay within the network of the major military highways. This road ran from Sebasteia to Nikopolis, then from Nikopolis to Satala, thence to Zimara, from Zimara to Melitenē, and so back to Sebasteia. This system is given as follows in the *Itinerarium Antonini* and the *Tabula Peutingeriana*:

Itinerarium Antonini

SEBASTIA	
Camisa	
Zara	
Dagolasso	
NICOPOLI	
Olotoedariza	Carsat
Dracontes	Arauracos
	Suissa
Haza	
SATALA	
Suissa	
Arauracos	
Garsagis	
Sinervas	
Analiba	

*Tabula Peutingeriana*¹⁵

SEVASTIA
Comassa
Doganis
Megalasso
Mesorome
NICOPOLI
Caltiorissa
Draconis
Cunissa
Hassis
Ziziola

SATALA

ZIMARA	ZIMARA
Teucila	Zenocopi
	Vereuso
Sabus	Saba
Dascusa	Dascusa
	Hispa
	Arangas
Ciaca	Ciaca
MELITENA	MELENTENIS
Pisonos	
Ad Praetorium	
Aranis	
Euspoena	
Blandos	
SEBASTIA	

The junction points given: Sebasteia, Nikopolis, Satala and Melitenē, are still found at present on the main road circumscribing ancient Lesser Armenia, thus we can say without fear of falling into great error that the present line of communications goes back to extreme antiquity. Because of their physical setting, the roads of Armenia and of Asia Minor in general must be taken as one of the most permanent features of the country. Asia Minor is a mountainous land, cut in all directions by the snowy ridges of the Taurus, composed of deep, bottomless gorges and narrow, often completely impassable river valleys, so that it presents serious problems of communications. A road once laid out in the direction dictated by the natural conditions must remain unchanged in all successive periods, especially if it depends in some measure on human labour.

The first posts on the line Sebasteia-Nikopolis, namely *Camisa* and *Zara* still exist under their ancient names of Kemis and Zara, the first at 30 kilometers from Sivas and the second at the same distance from Kemis; both are located along the Halys (Kizil-Irmak) river ^{15a}. Above Kemis and Zara, the Köse (bald) and Abeş mountains stretch all the way to the Euphrates. The modern paved highway from Zara to Endires runs along the northern slopes of these mountains. According to one of the *Itineraries* there is only one station, *Dagolasso*, between Zara and Nikopolis, but according to the other, there are three: *Doganis*, *Megalasso*, *Mesorome*. There were apparently two roads of which one followed the bank of the Halys, while the other diverged towards the mountains in the direction of the present

highway at a point beyond Kamis and before Zara. Since Nikopolis lay somewhat south of Endires, however, it is probable that the ancient road did not follow the northern slopes of the Köse and Abeş mountains, as does the modern one, but rather ran along their southern spurs. A number of khans or relays still preserved on these slopes seem to lead to the same conclusion. The first mountain relay on this route should be Doganis, while Megalasso should presumably be a station other than Dagolasso. The other road described by the *Itinerarium Antonini*, lay in the valley of the Halys. It ran along the bed of this river to a small mountain ridge dividing the waters of the Halys from those of the Lykos, or more precisely of its tributary the Aksar on whose bank stood the city of Nikopolis. The road descended to the Aksar across this ridge and followed it to Nikopolis. Dagolasso must have stood at the point where the road crossed over from the Halys to the of Nikopolis river ^{15b}.

The existence of two routes is also supported by the fact that Ptolemy, who is familiar with Dagona, Megalassos, and Mesorome, places the first locality in Lesser Armenia, but the other two in Pontus Polemoniacus, in the region of Sebasteia ^{15c}. The mountain range of the Köse and Abeş, with one end at Dagona, and the other at Nikopolis, both of which belonged to Lesser Armenia, should be taken as the natural frontier of Lesser Armenia and Pontus. If the intermediary stations of Megalassos and Mesorome belong in Pontus, they must lie on the crest of that range, but no further south. In the opposite case, that is to say, had they been located on the river road described by the *Itinerarium Antonini*, they would have been part of Lesser Armenia ¹⁶.

According to the description of the *Itinerarium Antonini*, the road from Nikopolis to Satala divided at Olotoedariza, the station following Nikopolis. One route followed the bank of the Lykos, while the other ran further south through the mountains. The first of these roads coincides with the one given in the *Tabula Peutingeriana*:

Itinerarium Antonini — Nicopoli 24 Olotoedariza 26 Dracontes 24 Haza 26 Satala.

Tabula Peutingeriana — Nicopoli 14 Caltiorissa Draconis 13 Cunissa 10 Hassis 13 Ziziola 12 Satala ^{16a}.

Hassis is merely *Haza* in the instrumental, the case in which the names of the stations are usually given in the *Itineraries*. *Cunissa* and *Ziziola* were intermediary stations, the first between *Draconis*

and *Haza*, and the second between *Haza* and *Satala*. The proof of this is found in the distances given between stations. According to the *Itinerarium*, there were 24 Roman miles between *Draconis* and *Haza*, and 26 from there to *Satala*, while according to the *Tabula*, there were 13 Roman miles from *Draconis* to *Cunissa* and 10 from there to *Hassis*, or a total of 23 miles as against 24 in the *Itinerarium*. For the distance between *Hassis* and *Ziziola*, the *Tabula* gives 13 miles plus 12 from *Ziziola* to *Satala*, 25 miles in all, as against 26 in the *Itinerarium*. These differences are too insignificant to be taken into consideration. In the case of the second station given as *Olotoedariza* in one document and *Caltiorissa* in the other, it is evident that one and the same locality is meant in both cases. The reading *Caltiorissa* is not certain, and the distance of this station from *Draconis* is not given in the manuscripts ^{16b}.

The second road from *Nikopolis* to *Satala* through *Olotoedariza* turned southward and followed the slopes of the mountains now called *Çimen dağı* through the following stations:

Itin. Ant. — Garsagis 24 Arauracos 24 Suissa 26 Satala ^{16c}.

The fact that this road served as the line of communications between *Satala* and *Zimara* shows that the direction given by us is correct:

Itin. Ant. — SATALA Suissa 18 Arauracos 24 Garsagis
28 Sinerva 28 Analiba 16 Zimara ^{16d}.

Since the road from *Satala* to *Nikopolis* on the *Lykos* and to *Zimara* on the *Euphrates* went through the same stations: *Suissa*, *Arauracos*, and *Garsagis* or *Carsat*, we must assume that these stations were disposed between the *Lykos* and the *Euphrates* along a line parallel to their course, in other words, along the *Çimen dağı*, as we have already indicated. The highway from *Endires* to *Erzincan* passes through *Gercanis* [[?] *Refahiye*], hence, the station of *Garsanis*, whose name must be a deformation of *Garsagis* or *Carsat*, is clearly identical with modern *Gercanis*.

The *Tabula Peutingeriana* does not give this road from *Satala* to *Zimara*, but shows two other roads which connect *Zimara* directly with *Nikopolis* and the neighbouring *Draconis*:

NICOPOLI 21 Oleoberda 15 Caleorsissa 24 Analiba 15
Zimara *Draconis* 16 *Haris* 17 *Elegarsina* 8 *Bubalia* 27 *Zimara* ^{16e}.

The Nikopolis road probably ran along the left bank of the Akşar deresi and coincided with the present road on which we incidentally find the village of Gölaris in the Sinibel mountains. This is the historical Caleor-s-issa, and it is located at the source of the Karabudak çayı which flows past Zimara into the Euphrates^{16r}. The Draconis road ran a little east of the former. If Elegarsina can be derived from the Armenian *եղեղ-ւոնի* "reed village" (*eleg-aris-ina being the adjectival form of Elegaris), it should be connected with the present Kamışlı dere which means "reed gorge" and is consequently a translation of the ancient Armenian name. The Kamışlı dere lies by the Gercanis river, which is also a tributary of the Lykos. The road we are seeking must have followed this stream, and it is very likely that Draconis stood on the site of Hapul-köprü, at the point where the Gercanis empties into the Lykos^{16s}. The next station, Bubalia, belonged in the region of Daranalik', in the vicinity of Analibla or Analibna, as is indicated by its name¹⁷.

The following stations stood along the Euphrates between Zimara and Melitenē:

Itin. Ant. — Zimara 16 Teucila 26 Sabus 16 Dascusa 32 Ciaca 18 Melitenē.

Tab. Peut. — Zimara 18 Zenocopi 18 Vereuso 13 Saba 18 Dascusa 18 Hispa 18 Arangas 9 Ciaca 28 (18) Meletensis^{17a}.

Both documents present in fact one and the same road. The more important points on this road at present are Divriği, Egin, Arapkir, Arguvan, as well as Şepik and Eğin. The cross roads toward Malatya run through them. In 1868 an investigator discovered the traces of a road dating from the Roman period in the Sarıçiçek mountains between Divriği and Arapkir¹⁸. Not far from Divriği, at the point where the Caltisuyu empties into the Euphrates, there is a khan or rest house called Urumya, which is unquestionably a relay of Byzantine or even Roman origin^{18a}. The road from Zimara probably came down from the mountains already mentioned to this spot, and then continued past Arapkir and Arguvan towards Melitenē. More precise indications as to the disposition of the stations do not exist. Teucila (for Teucira from *Teurica), may perhaps be connected with Divriği, the Armenian Tevrik, the Byzantine Tephrikē¹⁹. Sabus seems to coincide with Şepik, a little north of Arapkir. Dascusa belongs in the vicinity of Eğin on the Angu river, where a bridge with a

Byzantine inscription has been preserved to this day ^{19a}. Hispa stood on the site of Saraycik. Arangas is reminiscent of Arguvan, the Argaun of Byzantine authors ²⁰. Ciaca or Craca is perhaps to be associated with Çermik on the bank of the Euphrates ²¹. Siniscolon is a town in Melitenē, probably the modern Sinikli, on the bank of the Euphrates near Keban-Maden.

The ancient road from Melitenē to Sebasteia must have coincided with the modern one. The stations enumerated in the *Itinerarium Antonini* may be identified with the more or less familiar stops on this road. For example: Pisonos = Hasanbatrik, Ad praetorium = Hasançelebi, Aranis = Alacahan, Euspoena = Deliktaş, Blandos = Takhtuk [Tutmaç] ²². The road follows the course of the Kuru çayi, breaks through the Tecer mountains, and follows a small stream to Sivas. Of these stations, Aranis and Euspoena were still known in the tenth century. In 906, Eustathios Argyros was driven out of Charsianē. He apparently tried to flee to the Arabs, preferring treason to exile, but was poisoned by his companions at Aranis and buried at Spunios ²³. Aranis, in the form Arane, is also mentioned by Ptolemy among the cities of Lesser Armenia ^{23a}. The small settlement of Gündüz exists not far from the station of Takhtut. Unless Gündüz is a Turkish word, it may perhaps be connected with the Gundusa of the *Itinerarium*, the Godasa of Ptolemy. Gundusa stood on the road from Zara to Tonosa:

Itin. Ant. — Zara 18 Eumeis 30 Gundusa 23 Zoana 25 Tonosa ^{23b}.

Tonosa is the present Tonus at the foot of the similarly named Karatonus mountain south of Sivas. The position of Gündüz corresponds to that of the historical Gundusa.

The lines of communications connecting the stations which we have been investigating are simultaneously the boundary lines of Lesser Armenia. We know authoritatively that Dagona on the Sebasteia-Nikopolis road was included in Lesser Armenia. On the line Nikopolis-Satala, the station of Haza remained beyond the confines of Lesser Armenia and was part of Cappadocian Pontus, according to Ptolemy, though Pliny took it as belonging in Lesser Armenia together with Nikopolis ²⁴. It evidently lay on the frontier line and was, therefore, attributed now to Pontus and now to Armenia. On the side of Melitenē, Dascusa and Ispa were listed by Ptolemy together

with the cities of Lesser Armenia, while Ciaca, and by association Siniscolon (Sinikli) was assigned to the strategy of Melitenē ^{24a}. On the line Melitenē-Sebasteia, the station of Aranis remained in Armenia, as did Godasa-Gundusa. Hence, Lesser Armenia, in its narrower or Ptolemaic sense, included in the north the basin of the Lykos-Kelkit river from its source to Nikopolis, and the upper course of the Halys-Kizil ırmak to Kemis; in the south she included the entire system of the river of Divriği, called the *Kangal su, or the Çaltısuyu. The Kuru çayı already belonged in the prefecture of Melitenē, at least in its lower course. Of the five districts into which Lesser Armenia was divided, the northern one, Orbalisenē lay along the Lykos; the next two, Aitulanē and Hairetikē, adjoined the Halys, one on the right and the other on the left side; Orsenē and Orbisenē occupied the region of the Kangal river, probably one to the north and the other to the south.

The town of Orsa in Lesser Armenia, which scholars have incorrectly identified with Osdara, was unquestionably an important locality in Orsenē, and gave its name to the entire province. The Byzantine theme of Charsianon probably also owed its name to Orsenē. This theme took its name from the fortress of Charsianon (κάστρον Χαρσιανόν) found in it but whose location remains unknown, despite an unsuccessful attempt to connect this fortress with Karissa, Garsi, not far from Amasia ²⁵. From the indications found in Byzantine sources, it is evident that Charsianon stood not far from Hypselē, since audacious Arab raids reached as far as the fortresses of Charsianon and Hypselē ²⁶. Hypselē [Ipsile], its name unchanged, still stands to one side of the highway to Endires, north of Kemis and Zara. The village of Horsana, with an Armenian population, exists on the left bank of the Halys between Sivas and Kemis, and must unquestionably be the historical Χαρσιανόν ²⁷. According to the evidence of Arab geographers, Charsianon lay one day's journey from Kemis, a fact which supports our identification ²⁸. There is no need to derive Horsana from the Orsa of Ptolemy although there is no obstacle to this. Orsa is mentioned by Ptolemy in connexion with Varsapa, and he locates both places in Lesser Armenia ^{28a}. Some scholars have attempted to identify Varsapa with Arabissos [Yarpuz], others correct the name into Sarsapa and equate it with the Byzantine Σαρσάπιον, a fortress in Lykandos-Albistenē on the bank of the present Sarsap deresi, near Arabissos. As for Orsa, they think it may be identified with Osdara, one of the stations on the road from Melitenē to Kukusos-Göksün ^{28b}.

Itin. Ant. — Melitena 26 Arcas 24 Dandaxina 24 Osdara
24 Ptandari 38 Cocuso ^{28c}.

Arcas [Arga] still exists west of Malatya. Ptandari has correctly been located at Tanir north of Yarpuz, Dandaxina and Osdara must lie between these two points. Osdara is usually associated with the Arslantaş, which are cliffs bearing the representation of two lions, in the vicinity of Darende, the ancient Taranta ^{28d}. Both the identifications of Varsapa and Orsa are unsatisfactory. Ptandari corresponds to the Tandarī of Ptolemy, a city in Kataonia and the Arslantaş and Sarsapa lie within the boundaries of Kataonia and Melitenē, whereas Orsa and Varsapa are mentioned among the cities of Lesser Armenia in the narrower sense of the term. Hence, even if Sarsapa is a possible reading for Varsapa, it would still be more justifiable to identify it with the village of Sarsap on the Kuru çayı above the khan of Hasanbatrık. As for Orsa, it is undoubtedly a locality in Orsenē, whether or not we accept its identification with the modern village of Horsana. From a topographical point of view, Horsana is more suitable to Orsa, a city in Lesser Armenia, than Osdara which lay outside this territory.

Despite their lack of precision in the location of stations, the general information on the topography of Armenia found in the *Itinerarium Antonini* and the *Tabula Peutingeriana* gives the outline of Lesser Armenia *proprie dicta* with such clarity that it precludes the possibility of such incorrect identifications as Arapkir-Ἀραβρακὴ or Οὐαρσάνα-Ἀραβίσσος ²⁹. Such errors stem from the failure to define Lesser Armenia with sufficient clarity in either the narrow or the broad sense of the term. In other words, Lesser Armenia as a part of Cappadocia, and Lesser Armenia as an independent province are different territorial units.

The separation of Lesser Armenia from the complex of Cappadocia belongs to the period of Diocletian. Major transformations in the administrative structure of the provinces are attributed to him. According to the words of one of his contemporaries, dissatisfied with the reform, "the provinces were splintered to bits and not only the provinces but also the cities themselves were weighed down with a multitude of governors and officials ³⁰".

In 1862 an interesting document, the so called *Verona List* of Roman provinces entitled *Nomina Provinciarum Omnium* in the manuscript was discovered ^{30a}. The editor's critical work has shown that the

internal content of this listing of provinces places it in 297, *i.e.* at the very end of the third century. Hence the *Verona List* presumably reflects the reforms of Diocletian ³¹. According to this list, the entire Empire was divided into twelve dioceses, two of which contained the Asiatic border provinces. These were the dioceses of Oriens and of Pontica. The diocese of Pontica consisted of seven provinces, among which we find Lesser Armenia :

Diocensis Pontica habet provincias numero VII

Bitinia

Cappadocia

Galatia

Paphlagonia, nunc in duas divisa

Diospontus

Pontus Polemoniacus

Armenia minor, nunc et maior addita ^{31a}.

The twelve dioceses taken as a whole add up to 95 provinces, though the Roman Empire at the accession of Diocletian numbered only 57 provinces, having been increased by 15 provinces since the time of Trajan. Of the 38 new provinces (95-57), the creation of 15 provinces, most of them in Asia, can be attributed with certainty to Diocletian. Lesser Armenia belongs among them ³².

There is another document of the same type as the *Verona List*, namely the *Laterculus* of Polemius Silvius. Although its author, Polemius Silvius, lived in the first half of the fifth century and wrote the work, as he states, in the consulship of Zeno and Posthumius (*i.e.* 448 A.D.), the content of the *Laterculus* goes back to a much earlier period. According to Mommsen, it was composed no later than 386, since certain provinces already existing in that year are still missing from the document ³³. According to the listing of the *Laterculus*, there were 8 provinces in the diocese of Pontus:

in Ponto VIII

1. Pontus Polemoniacus

2. Pontus Amasia

3. Honoriada

4. Bithinia

5. Paflagonia

7. Armenia minor [sic]

6. Armenia maior

8. Cappadocia ^{33a}.

Pontus Amasia, *i.e.* the part of Pontus containing the city of Amasia, is equivalent to the Diospontus of the *Verona List*. It was rechristened Helenopontus at the time of Constantine the Great in honour of his

mother Helen ³⁴. Honoriada, taken primarily from the territory of Bithynia, was created by Theodosius I in honour of his son Honorius, probably on the occasion of the child's birth in 384 ³⁵.

In contradiction to historical reality, Greater Armenia is included among these provinces alongside of Lesser Armenia, but the irregularity in the numbering:

Septima: Armenia minor

Sexta: Armenia maior

reveals the inaccuracy of the list which has reached us. Some scholars believe that the reference here is to Armenia I and II, which might well have been called Lesser and Greater Armenia by the author of the *Laterculus* since Armenia II was considerably larger than Armenia I ³⁶. However, such an interpretation fails to explain the transposition of the numbers. In our opinion, this transposition is to be attributed to the fact that Galatia has been omitted in Polemius' list. In the *Verona List* and the later *Notitia Dignitatum*, Galatia was included in the diocese of Pontus, but in the *Laterculus* it has been shifted into the diocese of Asia ^{36a}, perhaps because it was temporarily ruled by the same governor as the neighbouring Helenopontus at the time of composition of the *Laterculus*. Whatever its explanation, the transfer of Galatia clearly brought about the transposition we have observed in the listing of the provinces. The two lists are very much alike; the author of the *Laterculus* followed a source similar to the *Verona List*. But in the latter document the note "*nunc et maior addita*", was inserted after Armenia minor, and this note has been incorporated into the *Laterculus*. When Galatia was dropped for some reason from the *Laterculus*, and the number of provinces consequently reduced to seven, instead of the eight indicated in the title, Greater Armenia was added as a separate province to fill the blank. In doing this, Greater Armenia was kept after Lesser Armenia, as it had been in the note of the *Verona List*, but the number of Galatia in the *Laterculus*, i.e. "*sexta*", was allotted to her. The original text of the *Laterculus* must, therefore, have had the following form:

in Ponto VIII

1. Pontus Polemoniacus
2. Pontus Amasia
3. Honoriada
4. Bithinia

5. Paflagonia
- [6. Galatia]
7. Armenia minor nunc et maior
8. Cappadocia.

It is possible of course to question the authenticity of the note "*nunc et maior*" in the *Verona List*, but even if it should prove to be an interpolation, it must be a very ancient one since it was already known to the author of the *Laterculus*. Both the *Verona List* and the *Laterculus* date from a period when great changes were taking place in the history of Armenia. It is true that the doubtful note referring to Greater Armenia is historically inaccurate, but it may be an echo in the *Verona List* of the political events of 298, when the throne of the Armenian Arsacids shaken by the Sasanians had been restored once again in Greater Armenia thanks to Roman support. From that time Armenia had come into the sphere of Imperial influence or, as Ammianus Marcellinus puts it, she became, "*juri Romano obnoxia*"³⁷, and benefited from the protection of the Romans. The note in the *Verona List* was taken over by Polemius Silvius because it agreed with the situation found in his own time, *i.e.* with the division of Armenia at the end of the fourth century into two portions, one of which was annexed by the Roman Empire.

The newly created province of Lesser Armenia was represented as a separate administrative unit at the Council of Nicaea of 325 on a par with Greater Armenia, Cappadocia and the remaining neighbouring provinces^{37a}. In 371 the emperor Valens split Cappadocia into halves, Cappadocia I and II³⁸. Armenia II, with the cities of Komana and Ariaratheia, is mentioned for the first time together with Cappadocia II and Helenopontus in a decree of Theodosius the Great³⁹. We might reasonably suppose that the division of Lesser Armenia took place at the same time as that of Cappadocia, that is to say in 371, but this hypothesis is contradicted by the fact that Ammianus, whose *History* goes to A.D. 378, speaks of only one Lesser Armenia and seems to know her as a single unit⁴⁰. At the Council of Constantinople of 381, Lesser Armenia was still represented as an undivided unit, as was Cappadocia, though the division of the latter had taken place ten years earlier. The ecclesiastical hierarchy had apparently not had time to adjust itself to the new situation, and Cappadocia remained a single province from the point of view of the Church⁴¹. St. Basil the Great protested against the division of Cappadocia which he thought foolish. As he commented sharply:

... what they have done is about the same as if a man possessing a horse or an ox, should divide it into two parts, and consider that he had two animals instead of the one he had. For he has not created two and he has destroyed the one⁴².

The discontent of the country which found a spokesman in Saint Basil may perhaps have delayed indirectly the reorganization of Lesser Armenia. Since we find an explicit reference to Armenia II in 386, as we have already noted, we must presume that the intention of Valens was carried out by his successor Theodosius I in the period between 378 and 386. Lesser Armenia was then split into the two provinces of Armenia I and II. The first was composed of the district of Sebasteia, with the cities of Nikopolis, Koloneia, Satala, Sebastopolis, and Berissē, in addition to its capital of Sebasteia. In Armenia II were found Melitenē, Arka, Arabissos, Kukusos, Komana, and Ariaratheia. The province of Pontus Polemoniacus, adjoining Armenia I, occupied the district of the cities of Neo-Caesarea, Komana (Pontica), Polemonion, Kerasos, and Trapezos ^{42a}.

Ecclesiastical geography provides us with most of the data concerning the territory of the newly created provinces, because ecclesiastical divisions were characterized by a relatively high degree of stability. These divisions probably correspond to the administrative map of the period of Theodosius I, and they maintained themselves unchanged thereafter, successfully avoiding the provincial alterations of Justinian. The information of George of Cyprus who wrote in the seventh century agrees with the geographical material of the fifth century *Conciliar Lists*, as can be seen from the tables given below ^{42b}. After the Council of Chalcedon, the emperor Leo sent an enquiry to all the eparchies as a result of the riots which had broken out in Alexandria. The answers of the eparchies with the signatures of the incumbents have survived to our times ^{42c}. Armenia I and II are more fully represented in them than in the protocols of the Council of Chalcedon. For this reason, we give the data of these answers in tabular form:

Ad Leonem
(A.D. 453) [sic] ³⁴

Hierokles
(ca. 530)

Georgius Cyprius
(VII C.)

EPARCHY OF ARMENIA I

1. Sebastia	Sebasteia	Sebasteia ^{43a}
2. Nicopolis	Nikopolis	Nikopolis ^{43b}
5. Colonia	Koloneia	Koloneia
6. Satala	Satala	Satala
3. Sebastopolis	Sebastoupolis	Sebastoupolis
4. Varissa	—	Berissē

EPARCHY OF ARMENIA II

1. Melitena	Melitenē	Melitenē ^{43c}
2. Arca	Arka	Arkē
3. Arabissus	Arabissos	Arabissos ^{43d}
4. [Cucusus]	Kukusos	Kukusos
5. [Comana]	Komana	Keomana ^{43e}
6. [Ariaratha]	Ariatheia	Ariarathē

Armenias I and II taken together were larger than the former Lesser Armenia. This addition took place primarily at the time of the partition, since Koloneia was still considered part of Cappadocia in 381, as attested by the list of fathers present at this Council, though a partial increase had already occurred, as we have shown, at the time of Lesser Armenia's separation from Cappadocia. Lesser Armenia remained in this new form until the period of Justinian.

ABBREVIATIONS

AASS	<i>Acta Sanctorum Bollandiana</i> (Brussels).
AAWB	<i>Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin.</i>
AB	<i>Analecta Bollandiana</i> (Brussels).
ABAWM	<i>Abhandlungen der bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu München.</i>
ACO	<i>Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum</i> , Schwartz, E. ed. (Berlin, 1914).
AEHE	<i>Annuaire de l'École des Hautes Études</i> (Paris).
AIPHO	<i>Annuaire de l'Institut de philologie et d'histoire orientales et slaves</i> (Brussels).
AJSLL	<i>American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures</i> (Chicago).
AKGWG	<i>Abhandlungen der königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen.</i>
AO	<i>Acta Orientalia</i> (Copenhagen).
AQ	<i>Armenian Quarterly</i> (New York).
ARBBL	<i>Académie Royale de Belgique. Bulletin Classe des Lettres</i> (Brussels).
ASGW	<i>Abhandlungen der sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften.</i>
B	<i>Byzantion</i> (Brussels).
BA	<i>Bulletin arménologique. Mélanges de l'Université de Saint-Joseph</i> (Beirut).
Ber	<i>Berytus</i> (Beirut).
BGA	<i>Bibliotheca geographorum arabicorum</i> , de Goeje, M.J. ed. (Leiden).
BIM	<i>Bulletin de l'Institut Marr</i> (Tbilisi).
BK	<i>Bedi Karthlisa. Revue de Karthvélogie</i> (Paris).
BM	<i>Banber Matenadarani</i> (Erevan).
BNJ	<i>Byzantinisch-neugriechische Jahrbücher</i> (Berlin).
BSL	<i>Bulletin de la Société Linguistique de Paris.</i>
BSOAS	<i>Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies</i> (London).
BZ	<i>Byzantinische Zeitschrift</i> (Leipzig).
Ca	<i>Caucasica</i> (Leipzig).
CAH	<i>Cambridge Ancient History.</i>
CHA	<i>Collection d'historiens arméniens</i> , Brosset, M.F. ed. (St. Petersburg, 1874-1876).
CHAMA	<i>Collection d'historiens anciens et modernes de l'Arménie</i> , Langlois, V. ed. (Paris, 1967-1869).
CHR	<i>The Catholic Historical Review</i> (Washington).
CIG	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Graecorum.</i>
CIL	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinorum.</i>
CJC	<i>Corpus Juris Civilis</i> , Mommsen, T., Krüger, P., et al., edd. (Berlin).
CMH	<i>Cambridge Medieval History.</i>
Cod. Th.	<i>Codex Theodosianus</i> , Mommsen, T., et al., edd. (Berlin).
CP	<i>Classical Philology</i> (Chicago).
CR	<i>Classical Review</i> (London-Oxford).
CSCO	<i>Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium</i> (Louvain).
CSHB	<i>Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae</i> (Bonn, 1828-1897).
DHG	<i>Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Géographie Ecclésiastique</i> (Paris).

DTC	<i>Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique</i> (Paris).
EHR	<i>English Historical Review</i> (London).
EI-	<i>Encyclopaedia of Islam</i> (Leiden, 1913-1948). New edition (1954-).
EO	<i>Echos d'Orient</i> (Paris).
FGH	<i>Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum</i> , Muller, C. ed. (Paris, 1841-1883).
G	<i>Georgica</i> (London).
G46	Office of Geography, Department of the Interior, <i>Gazetteer No. 46 : Turkey</i> (Washington, 1960).
GGM	<i>Geographi Graeci Minores</i> , Muller, C. ed. (Paris, 1855-1861).
HA	<i>Handēs Amsorya</i> (Vienna).
IAFAN	<i>Izvestia Armianskogo Filiala Akademii Nauk SSSR</i> (Erevan).
IANA	<i>Izvestiia Akademii Nauk Armianskoj SSR</i> (Erevan).
IANs	<i>Izvestiia Akademii Nauk SSSR</i> (Moscow).
IKIAI	<i>Izvestiia Kavkazskogo Istoriko-Arkhelogicheskogo Instituta</i> (Tbilisi).
IZ	<i>Istoricheskie Zapiski</i> (Moscow).
JA	<i>Journal Asiatique</i> (Paris).
JEH	<i>The Journal of Ecclesiastical History</i> (London).
JHS	<i>Journal of Hellenic Studies</i> (London).
JRAS	<i>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain</i> (London).
JRGS	<i>Journal of the Royal Geographic Society</i> (London).
JRS	<i>Journal of Roman Studies</i> (London).
K.	<i>Klio. Beiträge zur alten Geschichte</i> (Leipzig).
KSINA	<i>Kratkie Soobshcheniie Instituta Narodov Azii Akademii Nauk SSSR</i> (Moscow).
KV	<i>Khristianskii Vostok</i> .
L	<i>Loeb Classical Library</i> (Cambridge, Mass.-London).
LTK	<i>Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche</i> (Freiburg i/B).
Mansi	<i>Sacrorum Conciliorum Nova et Amplissima Collectio</i> . Migne, J.B. ed. (Florence - Venice, 1759-1798). New edition (Paris, 1901).
MAIP	<i>Mémoires de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de St. Pétersbourg</i> .
MBAK	<i>Monatsberichte der berlinischen Akademie der Wissenschaften</i> .
MDGKO	<i>Morgenländische Darstellung aus Geschichte und Kultur des Ostens</i> (Berlin).
MVG	<i>Mitteilungen der vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft</i> .
NT	<i>Nord Tidsskrift for Sprogviden</i> (Oslo).
OC	<i>Oriens Christianus</i> (Leipzig).
OS	<i>Orientalia Suecana</i> (Uppsala).
P	<i>Pazmaveb</i> (Venice).
PBA	<i>Proceedings of the British Academy</i> (London).
PBH	<i>Patma-banasirakan Handēs</i> (Erevan).
PG	<i>Patrologiae cursus completus. Series graeco-latina</i> , Migne, J.P. ed. (Paris, 1857-1866).
PL	<i>Patrologiae cursus completus. Series latina</i> , Migne, J.P. ed. (Paris, 1844-1855).
PO	<i>Patrologia Orientalis</i> , Graffin, R. and Nau, F. edd. (Paris, 1903).
PP	<i>La Parola del Passato. Rivista di Studi Classici</i> (Naples).
PS	<i>Palestinskii Sbornik</i> (Moscow).
PW	<i>Real-encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft</i> , Pauly, A., Wisso-

	wa, G., and Kroll, W. edd. (Vienna, 1837-1852). New edition (Stuttgart, 1893).
REA	<i>Revue des Études Arméniennes</i> (Paris, 1920-1932). New series (Paris, 1964-).
REAnc	<i>Revue des Études Anciennes</i> (Bordeaux).
REB	<i>Revue des Études Byzantines</i> (Paris).
REIE	<i>Revue des Études Indo-Européennes</i> .
RH	<i>Revue Historique</i> (Paris).
RHE	<i>Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique</i> (Louvain).
RHR	<i>Revue de l'Histoire des Religions</i> (Paris).
ROC	<i>Revue de l'Orient Chrétien</i> (Paris).
RSJB	<i>Recueils de la Société Jean Bodin</i> (Paris).
S	<i>Syria</i> (Paris).
SAW	<i>Sitzungsberichte der philologisch-historische Classe der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften</i> (Vienna).
SBAWM	<i>Sitzungsberichte der bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu München</i> .
SIA	<i>Studia Instituti Anthropos</i> (Vienna).
SMM	<i>Sak'art'velos Muzeume Moambe</i> (Tbilisi).
SV	<i>Sovetskoe Vostokovedenie</i> (Moscow).
T	<i>Traditio</i> (New York).
USAFM	<i>USAF Aeronautical Approach Chart</i> (St. Louis, 1956-1958).
UZL	<i>Uchenyye Zapiski Leningradskogo Universiteta</i> .
VBAG	<i>Verhandlungen der berlinischen anthropologischen Gesellschaft</i> .
VDI	<i>Vestnik Drevnei Istorii</i> (Moscow).
VI	<i>Voprosy Istorii</i> (Moscow).
VIA	<i>Voprosy Iazykoznaniiia</i> (Moscow).
VV	<i>Vizantiiskii Vremennik</i> (St. Petersburg, 1894-1928). N.S. (Leningrad, 1947).
WZKM	<i>Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes</i> .
ZDMG	<i>Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft</i> (Leipzig).
ZE	<i>Zeitschrift für Ethnologie</i> .
ZKO	<i>Zapiski Klassicheskago Otdeleniia Imperatorskago Russkago Arkheologicheskago Obshchestva</i> (St. Petersburg).
ZMNP	<i>Zhurnal Ministerstva Narodnago Prosveshcheniia</i> (St. Petersburg).
ZNW	<i>Zeitschrift für neutestamentliche Wissenschaft</i> .
ZVO	<i>Zapiski Vostochnago Otdeleniia Imperatorskago Russkago Arkheologicheskago Obshchestva</i> (St. Petersburg).
ZVS	<i>Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung</i> .

CHAPTER II

¹ Procopius, *Aed.*, III, i, 17 [L. VII, 182/3],

"τὰ μὲν οὖν ἀμφὶ τῇ μεγάλῃ καλουμένῃ Ἀρμενίᾳ διακρίσαστο ὧδε, τῇ δὲ ἄλλῃ Ἀρμενίᾳ, ἥπερ ἐντος Εὐφράτου ποταμοῦ οὕσα διήκει ἐς Ἀμιδα πόλιν, σατράπαι ἐφειστήκεισαν Ἀρμένιοι πάντες, ...". (29, 1)

² *CJ* I, 29, 5, "De officio magistri militum". [See Appendix IB]. *Nov.* XXXI [See Appendix I]. This is the reading given in the new Teubner edition *Nov.* XXXI = *Const.* XLV. Other editions give this passage as, "Τζοφανηγή τε καὶ Ἀνζητηνή ἢ Τζοφανή καὶ Ἀσθιανηγή ἢ καὶ Βαλαβιτηνή". The ἢ linking Anzetene and Sophene is completely out of place and is probably derived from the final -η of the preceding word. The same is true of the ἢ καὶ preceding Balabitenē, where the separation of the ἢ is even clearer. Some scholars propose καὶ ἢ in place of ἢ καὶ (Cf. Güterbock, *Arm.*, p. 30 n. 3), but there is no reason to isolate Balabitenē by means of the article when the other provinces lack this. It is interesting to note that the reading suggested by us, is found in one of the early editions of the *Novellae*, G. Haloander, *Νεαρῶν Ἰουστινιανοῦ βασιλέως* ... βιβλίον, Nuremberg, 1531. *CJ* VII, 63, 5, "De temporibus, et reparationibus, appellationum seu consultationum". (29, 2)

^{2a} [See above, chapter I, pp. 16, 20-21 and nn. 26-27, 39.]

³ *Պալու* < *Բալու* (sc. *քաղաք* or *Հովիտ*), it is called *κάστρον Βα(ίου)λοῦος* by *Georg. Cypr.*, p. 49. [See also, Markwart, *Südarmerien*, pp. *14, n. 2, 240, etc., and Honigmann, *Ostgrenze*, pp. 31-32, 90-91, etc.] (30, 1)

⁴ *Agat.* cxiv, p. 600, derives the name of the city, *Յաշտիշատ* from *յաշտից տեղիք* = "the place of offering", "...որ եւ անուանեալ ըստ յաճախապաշտածան տեղեացն Յաշտիշատ," but this interpretation cannot be taken seriously. *Շտեայ* another name for the village of *Ողիւ* also in Asthianenē, should perhaps also be linked with *Aštišat* (where *šat* is the ancient equivalent of *šahr*). [On *Aštišat*, see also, Markwart, *Südarmerien*, pp. 288 sqq. etc.] (30, 2)

⁵ *Strabo*, XII, ii, 1 [L. V, 350/1], "(Μελιτηνή)... ἀντίκειται δὲ τῇ Σωφηνῇ, μέσον ἔχουσα τὸν Εὐφράτην ποταμόν". *Ibid.*, XI, xii, 4 [L. V, 298/9], "...Ταῦρος, διορίζων τὴν Σωφηνὴν καὶ τὴν ἄλλην Ἀρμενίαν ἀπὸ τῆς Μεσοποταμίας ... ἐν δὲ τούτοις καὶ τὸ Μάσιον, τό ὑπερ-κείμενον τῆς Νισίβιος ὄρος καὶ τῶν Τυγρανοκέρτων". *Ibid.*, XI, xii, 3 [L. V, 296/7], "ἀριστερᾷ δὲ τὴν Ἀκισιοσηνὴν καὶ Σωφηνὴν τῆς μεγάλης Ἀρμενίας", on Karkathiokerta: *Ibid.*, XI, xiv, 3 [L. V, 320/1], "Βασίλειον δὲ τῆς Σωφηνῆς Καρκαθιόκερτα". *Pliny NH*, VI, 26 [L. II, 356/7], "... proximum, Tigri Carcathiocerta". [See also, Manandian, *Trade*, pp. 33-35]. (31, 1)

^{5a} [*FB*, V, vii, "յերիբին ծովաց ի Բաբելի բերդին." *Ibid.*, III, xii, "Բաբելի բերդին արքունի՝ Մեծ Մովսիս գաւառին."]

⁶ *Georg. Cypr.*, p. 47, "κάστρον Βαβαβηλῶν". *Joh. Eph.*, *de beatiss.* i, p. 3, "Habib ... e regione Sopheniorum oriundus, ... Erat natus in vico cui nomen est Pitar". *Ibid.*, xlv, p. 149 "... in monasterio sacro Pitarensi ..." found according to the context in "... terra Sopheniorum", in which were also found the village of Beth-Rummantha, *Idem*, and the locality called Çurtha, *Ibid.*, vi, p. 41. [Cf. Honigmann, *Ostgrenze*, pp. 8, 35]. The name of Fittar or Phittur can no longer be found, but *G* 46, p. 89 gives Benabil 37°19'N × 40°51'E, and Derik, in whose vicinity Honigmann placed Phitar, is still the head of a *kaza*, *G* 46, p. 183 (1)]. (31, 2)

⁷ Joh. Eph., *de beatis*, xxxi, p. 122, "... in Anzitenene Urtaeorum". *Ibid.*, lviii, p. 184, "... in finibus Urtaeorum in agro Anziteneno". *Ibid.*, p. 182, Mar Johannes ... [quod Amidae est] ... ut sermonem quoque Urtaeorum calleret ... Urtaeus putatus et vocatus est, licet genere penitus Syrus esset". Cf. Nöldeke, *Zwei Völker*, p. 163. [Cf. Honigmann, *Evêchés*, p. 236]. (31, 3)

⁸ Ptolemy, V, xii, p. 945, "... Ἐν δὲ τῷ ... μεσεμβρινωτέρῳ τμήματι μεταξὺ μὲν Εὐφράτου καὶ τῶν Τίγριδος πηγῶν ἥ τε Ἀνζιτηνὴ ...". (32, 1)

⁹ Kiepert, *Landschaften*, p. 197, *et al.* Taylor, *Kurdistan*, p. 43 in his description of the upper Ziban, "... this part of the Diarbekir Pashalik was a few years ago known by the name of Khanchoot, a corruption of the old name Handsith", he also refers here to the Arab historian Ibn-al-Athîr. This opinion was apparently taken into consideration in the determination of the location of Anzitenê. [Cf. also on the problem of the two Anjits, Markwart, *Südarmerien*, *41, 20, 58 sqq., 67-75, etc.; Honigmann, *Ostgrenze*, pp. 70-72, 76, 90-92 etc.; Honigmann, *Romanopolis*, pp. 92-93, *et passim*; Eremyan, *Armenia*, p. 36]. (32, 2),

¹⁰ Joh. Eph., *de beatis*, ix, p. 49 "Beatus Maras clericus in ecclesia vici haud exigui in partibus Anzitenenes, qui Hula vocatur, ...". *Ibid.*, xlii, p. 147. In this province were likewise found the villages of Paradisus (= *պարադի*), *Ibid.*, viii, p. 45, "... in monasterio vici qui Paradisus vocatur, ad fines Armeniae siti in regione Anzitenene", and Nanas, *Ibid.*, xxxi, p. 122, "... in Anzitenene Urtaeorum ... in vico qui Nanas vocatur," but their location is unknown. (32, 3)

¹¹ Cuinet, II, p. 352. (32, 4)

^{11a} [Til enzit is probably to be identified with the modern village of Til — 38°49'N × 39°18'E, *G* 46, p. 598 (4). Cf. Markwart, *Südarmerien*, p. 342, and Honigmann, *Ostgrenze*, pp. 71-72, 90 also Eremyan, *Armenia*, p. 36, "*Անձիթ*" whose location of Til NE of Harput agrees with the above coordinates.]

^{11b} [Ptolemy, V, xii, pp. 945-946. *Arm. Geogr.*, pp. 30/41.]

¹² MU, ovi, pp. 247-251, "[*Փիլառոսու*] եկեալ բնակեցաւ ի Մշարն (248)... [*Թոռնիկ*] գայր ի Ճապղ-Ջուր (249)... ի յԱշնուշատ քաղաքն [Հայոց չոգաւ], եւ յԱյեղուա դաշտին Հանդիպեցան զօրքն Փիլառոսոսին (250)... եւ [*Փիլառոսոսն*] զնաց փախստական... ի իարբերդ : Այս եղեւ ի Հանձիթ գաւառին ի յԱյեղուա դաշտին." [The passages in brackets are found in the text, but were left out by Adontz in his quotation thereof]. (33, 1)

^{12a} [*Tab. Peut.*, pp. 738-739 and map 238, p. 738. The Belhan mountains, found in Lynch, Map and Kiepert Karte CV have vanished from modern nomenclature].

¹³ Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen*, p. 301, and Kiepert, *Karte*, are probably mistaken in their identification of Mazara with the city of Mezere near Xarberd. The main difficulty is that Mezere is a very recent foundation, having been founded by emigrants from Xarberd. According to Cuinet, II, pp. 350 sqq., "[Kharpout] par sa position même sur une montagne escarpée, l'insuffisance des eaux qui peuvent servir à son approvisionnement, l'étroitesse de ses rues et leur encombrement durant l'hiver ... la cherté du bois ... a cessé de plaire à la population qui l'a petit à petit abandonné pour aller se fixer dans la plaine, à peu de distance de là, où tous ces inconvénients n'existaient pas.

... C'est à cet abandon qu'est due la fondation de la petite ville nouvelle de Mezré, instituée définitivement chef-lieu du vilayet de Mamouret-ul-Aziz, vers la fin du règne du sultan Abdul-Aziz ... (355) ... sous son prédécesseur, le sultan Abdul-Medjid, le grand-vizir, (356) ... En ... (1834) ... s'empresse d'envoyer à Mezré un nouveau gouverneur ...

Enfin sous le règne du sultan Abdul-Aziz, un vali kurde envoyé de Constantinople, ... l'embellit et l'agrandit encore, et changea son nom de Mezré, corruption de l'arabe Mezrea qui signifie 'Cultures', en celui de 'Mamouret-ul-Aziz, c'est-à-dire 'ville rendue prospère par Aziz'". [Adontz in paraphrasing the above quotation which we have put back in the original, mistakenly gives the date 1834 as that of the re-naming of Mezré, and omits a reference to Cuinet's etymology]. In opposition to Hübschmann's warning, *Ortsnamen*, p. 301 n. 1, that Mezere is "... zu unterschieden von dem häufigen Namen Mazre = Arab.-Türk. *mezre*'e 'Ackerfeld'", we believe that the name of Mezere should be derived from this very word. Mezre, the Arab *مزرعة* "arable land" has a sense similar to that of *yayla* "summer pasturage", and *kishla* "winter pasturage" and should be associated with autumn. The position of Mezere in the plain makes of it a *mezre*'e in comparison with the mountainous Xarberd. [Cf. Honigmann, *Ostgrenze*, p. 36 n. 4]. (33, 2)

¹⁴ Gölcük كوجلك "small lake" has an area of 50 square kilometers and a depth of 70-90 meters. *Cuinet*, II, p. 339. The castle with the same name as the lake is mentioned by Matt'ēos Urhacēi, *MU*, cclxxxi, p. 544, "...ի բերդն կաթողիկոսի, որ կոչի Մով". The castle probably stood on the island on which a small Armenian village is still to be found, Inčičean, *Geography*, p. 240 [Eremyan, *Armenia*, pp. 36, 56]. (34, 1)

¹⁵ The reading خربت for خربرت, *Xarē-bert*, Arm. *խարբ — բերդ is permissible unless the Muslim Hart-bert < Arm. *խար (ւ) — բերդ, which is also possible. Cf. the castle of Hart [Chartōn] in Tzanika [see below, Chapter III, pp. 49, 51, also Honigmann, *Ostgrenze*, pp. 70-72, etc.]. (34, 2)

¹⁶ *Polyb.*, VIII, xxiii [L. III, 504/5]. "Ἀρσαμόσατα, ἣ κεῖται πρὸς τῷ Καλῷ πεδίῳ καλουμένῳ, μέσον Εὐφράτου καὶ Τύγριδος". Cf. *MU*, cvi, p. 250, "...յԱշմուշատ ... ի յԱլեկուա դաշտին." Elsewhere in the same work, *Ibid.*, ccxxxvi, p. 443, "... գնան ի Հանձիթ գաւառն. եւ յաշու (?) ունէին զամուր բերդն իարբերոյ". This passage obviously refers to the same Alehuya Ալեկուա, so that յաշու should be read յալու. The Mss. used by Inčičean, *Description*, p. 50, contained the variant Ալեուա. It seems to us that the forms ալեու, ալեկու, ալու (in Turkish lands *ulu* اولو) occur in connexion with Hula, *Hul-vank*'. The 'Ηλέ-γερδα listed by *Ptol.*, V, xii, p. 946 as a city of Anzitenē may also be related to them. [Markwart, *Südarmenien*, p. 478 and Honigmann, *Ostgrenze*, pp. 93, 123 n. 115]. (34, 3)

¹⁷ Pliny, *NH*, VI, x, 26 [L. II, 356/7], "... in Majore [Armenia] Arsamosata Euphrati proximum". *MU*, cvii, p. 251, "... ի բերդն իւր յԱշմուշատ քաղաք որ ի յԱրծնոյ վերայ." Ibn Serapion, pp. 11/54 [Cf. Le Strange "notes" to *Ibid.*, p. 57]. Ibn Khurdādhbih, p. 125. Le Strange, *Lands*, pp. 116-117].

[A. Vasiliev, in his "Review" of Adontz, *ZMNP*, (1910), pp. 415-416, took him to task for this entire section of his work in which he confused Samosata (Sumaysat) and Arsamosata (Shamushāt or Shimshāt). The objection is undoubtedly well taken in that Adontz speaks of both Arsamosata (p. 34 et seq. of the Russian text) and Samosata (p. 35 of the same text) in discussing the passages of *Ibn Serapion* referring to the city of Shamushāt (pp. 11/54 and 30-31/314), whereas in his comment on another passage of Ibn Serapion, now referring to the city of Sumaysāt (*Ibid.*, pp. 10/47), Adontz gives to this city the curious name of "Syrian Arsamosata" (p. 37 of the Russian text). This confusion is all the more curious in that Le Strange, both in his comment of the text

of *Ibn Serapion* used by Adontz, *JRAS*, (1895), pp. 49, 57, and in *Lands*, pp. 116-117, likewise consulted by Adontz, repeatedly warns against this very mistake. Nevertheless, Adontz's mistake does not spread beyond the terminology, and may be due to no more than insufficient proof-reading. He locates Arsamosata in the vicinity of Xarberd and Balu in agreement with most scholars. As for the confusion of names, it has a long history, since Le Strange traces his *caveat* against it as far back as Yākfūt, *JRAS*, p. 57, and it has since been repeated by most modern scholars. On the two cities and their position, see also Markwart, *Südarmenien*, pp. *38-40, 240-265, etc.; Honigmann, *Ostgrenze*, pp. 71-73, 75-78 and 78 n. 4, 136 n. 5, etc., *Romanopolis, passim*; Manandian, *Trade*, pp. 33-35. The confusion seems to persist in Eremyan, *Armenia*, p. 73]. (35, 1)

^{17a} [*Ibn Serapion*, pp. 30-31/314.]

¹⁸ Tacitus, *Ann.* XV, x, [L. IV, 230/1], "... tria milia delecti peditis proximo Tauri iugo imposuit, ... equitatus, in parte campi locat. Coniunx ac filius castello, cui Arsamosata nomen est, abdit", *Ibid.*, XV, xv [L. IV, 238/9], "Interim flumini Arsaniae (is castra praefluebat) pontem imposuit". (36, 1)

^{18a} [*Ibid.*, XV, xi, xiii [L. IV, 232/3-236/7]. It is clear from Tacitus' account that the place besieged by Vologaesius I was Paetus' camp on the bank of the Euphrates, and not the city of Arsamosata. There is no indication in the account of the distance separating the camp from the city.]

^{18b} [*Cass. Dio.*, LXII, xxi [L. VIII, 120/1-122/3], "... φεύγοντα δὲ αὐτὸν [Παῖτρον] ἐπιδιώξας τὴν τε ἐπὶ τοῦ Ταύρου καταλειφθεῖσαν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ φρουρὰν ἐξέκοψε, καὶ ἐκέκινον Πάνδειαν πρὸς τῷ Ἀρσανίᾳ ποταμῷ ὅσων κατέκλεισε". Adontz's translation of the last part of this passage, which he uses to determine Paetus' moves, does not follow the text with sufficient accuracy, and disagrees with the translation given by E. Cary, *L. VIII*, pp. 121, 123, "... and shut him [Paetus] up in Rhandea, near the river Arsanias". J. Jackson, in his notes to the *Annals* of Tacitus, XV, x [L. IV, p. 230 n. 1], agrees with Cary that Paetus was at Rhandea "on the north bank of the 'Arsanias'", Momigliano, *CAH*, X, p. 768-769 likewise distinguishes Arsamosata and Rhandea, the camp attacked by Vologaesius. "In the plain of Kharput lay the fortified city of Arsamosata (Tacitus calls it *castellum* merely) on the southern bank of the Arsanias, ... On reaching the plain, Paetus proceeded to construct a base camp, choosing for its site Rhandea, a place near Arsamosata but on the north bank of the river ...". See also, *Ibid.*, p. 880 n. 5.] (37, 1)

¹⁹ *FB*, V, i, "... ἵδωμεν ἢ ἐν τῇ Περτέκῃ ἢ ἐν τῇ Ρωμυλῇ". *Ibid.*, V, iv, "ἵδωμεν ἢ ἐν τῇ Περτέκῃ ἢ ἐν τῇ Ρωμυλῇ". [Wilson, *Handbook*, p. 250, "Pertek ... ruins of Armenian fortress (pertek in Kurd); ferry over the Euphrates". Le Strange, began by seeking Arsamosata in the neighbourhood of Pertek", notes to *Ibn Serapion*, p. 57, "The ruins of Shamshāt are to be sought on the right or northern bank of the Murād Sū, ... and they must lie somewhere near the village marked Pistik on Kiepert's map". But in his later work, *Lands*, p. 116, he had rallied to the opinion of most scholars that Arsamosata "appears to have stood on the southern or left bank of the river". See also Markwart, *Südarmenien*, pp. 100-101, and Honigmann, *Ostgrenze*, p. 75 n. 8. The coordinates of the various Perteks in *G* 46, p. 511 do not fit the specifications nor is a ferry indicated near Yarimca on USAFM 340 A IV. (37, 1)

^{19a} [*Ptolemy*, V, xii, p. 946.]

^{19b} [Ephr. Syr., *Carm. Nisib.*, p. 93 [Cf. p. 33 n. 1], "Carmen ... de An(a)zit castello" = *Amm. Marc.*, XIX, vi, 1 [L. I, 494/5], Joh. Eph., *HE*, x, "Ziata capto castello". See Hübschmann, *Ortsnamen*, pp. 432-433, Markwart, *Südarmenien*, pp. 96 sqq., Honigmann, *Ostgrenze*, pp. 35 n. 4, 75-77, etc., Le Strange, *Ibn-Serapion*, p. 49].

^{19c} [*Ibn Serapion*, pp. 10/47, 10-11/54. See above n. 17.]

^{19d} [The problematic position of Mazara, cf. above n. 13 precludes the identification of the Čalgar. Cf. also Le Strange, *Ibn Serapion*, p. 49.]

²⁰ Barhebraeus, *Chron. Syr.*, pp. 396-397, "Then a legion of the *Tâtârs* invaded the country of the fortress of *Zâid*, and it came on as far as the *Euphrates*, which is in *Melitene*, and it crossed the plain of *Hânâzit*". [Adontz, referring to the Bedjan edition of the text, p. 506 (sic, 463 ?), renders this passage as "... venit usque ad Euphratem in limite Malatiae et transit in vallem Hanzith"]. Cf. Barhebraeus, *Chron. Ecc.*, I, p. 412. (38, 1)

^{20a} [See above n. 5a. Also for the entire discussion on the two Sopenhēs, see Markwart, *Erân.*, pp. 171-178, *Südarmenien*, pp. *65, 31, 39 sqq., 54, 87-88, 91 sqq., 113, 121-124, 130, 132, 161, 170, *Streifzüge*, pp. 480, 486; Honigmann, *Ostgrenze*, pp. 7 n. 1, 8-9, 16, 24, 32-33, *Romanopolis*, p. 93; Eremyan, *Armenia*, pp. 35, 57, 62, 107, etc.]

^{20b} [*Arm. Geogr.*, p. 30-41].

²¹ *FB*, IV, xxiv, "Մոփք մեծ and Մոփք Շաշունյ" (more correctly "Շաշունյ" as it is given in Inčičean's listing, *Description*, p. 48); *Ibid.*, III, ix, "Մոփք Շաշի"; *Ibid.*, III, xii, "Շաշունի". Vardan, *Geography*, p. 21, "Մոփաղ գաւառն, Մեծկերտ եւ Չճշկածակ է." Anastasius, *List*, p. 229, "... Մոփաղ գաւառն, որ այժմ կոչի Չճշկածակ." *Asotik*, II, i, p. 63, "յաշխարհն Մոփաղ ի գիւղաքաղաքին կոչան". *Ptol.*, V, xii, p. 942, "... Ἀκλισηνὴ καὶ ἡ Ἀσταανῆτις καὶ ἡ πρὸς αὐτῇ τῇ ἐκτροπῇ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἡ Σωφηνή". (38, 2)

²² *Mansi*, VII, p. 403, "provinciae Mesopotamiae ep. VI : Symeon Amudensis, Neo Cesariensis, Zephanensis, Maras, Azetiniensis, Zebenios Martyropolitanus, Gaiumas Inseles, Inreles (sc. Ingeles), Eusenius (sc. Eusebius) Rufunensis, Suphaniensis". The list of bishops present at the council and divided according to provinces is known only from a single Ms., the *Codex Maffei*, as noted by its editor Labbe, *Acta*, cols. 1799-1800. [Cf. Honigmann, *Original Lists*, p. 20]. The names are to some degree distorted; Caesariensis is probably a distortion of Zephaniensis, but in that case, the concrete content of the two Sopenhēs is not clear because of the inclusion in the list of Martyropolis, which we know to have been considered one of the cities of Sopenhē. Among the signatories of the Council, we find Zebenius of Martyropolis as well as Symeon of Amida, whereas the signatures of the sixth session of the Council give : Συμεώνης ἐπίσκοπος Ἀμίδης τῆς μετροπόλεως, ὑπέγραψα καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ὑπ' ἐμε, Εὐσεβίου Μαρωνουπόλεως, Καίουμα Οὐαλαρσεκουπόλεως, Σηρικίου πόλεως ... διὰ Πέτρον πρεσβυτέρου". *Mansi*, VII, pp. 166-167. Eusebius and Caiumas were listed above as bishops respectively of Sophanē and Angelenē. From this we should conclude that the castle of Angei was also called Valarsekopolis, whereas Maronupolis was some unidentified city of Sopenhē. The *Answer* of the bishops of Mesopotamia to the Emperor Leo I concerning the Council of Chalcedon was signed by eight bishops: "Zoras (or more exactly Maras, as it is given in the heading of the *Answer*), Maronius, Noe, Eusebius, Reticus, Valaras, Maras, Abrahamus", *Mansi*, VII, p. 555. Of these, Maras, Noe, and Eusebius are the above-mentioned bishops of Anzitenē, Sophanē, and Sopenhē. Reticus is undoubtedly the Σηρίκιος or Tyricius, for whom the presbyter John signed at the sixth session.

We believe that *Μαρονον* [*πόλεως* and *Ουαλαρσεκον*] *πόλεως* should be taken as the names of bishops: Maronius and Valaras (Arm. *Վաղարշ*, *Վաղարշակ*, Gk. *Ουαλαρσε* the names of whose cities have dropped out of the Ms. as is the case of the bishop “*Σηρικίου πόλεως* ...”. In this case, Valarsekupolis becomes a questionable geographical term. [On the participants at the Council of Chalcedon, see Schwartz, *Prosopographia* and *Bischofslisten*; Honigmann, *Studien* and *Original Lists*. For Marones and Valarsekos, *Ibid.*, pp. 75-76 n. 167 and *Studien*, p. 82 n. 1; also Markwart, *Südarmenien*, pp. 546-554]. (39, 1)

²³ *Steph. Byz.*, p. 597, “*Σωφηνή, χώρα τῶν πρὸς Ἀρμενίαν, ὡς Στράβων ἐν ἐνδεκάτῃ παρα δ' Ἀρριανῷ Σῶφανηγή τετρασυλλάβως, οἱ κατοικοῦντες Σωφηνοί*”. (39, 2)

^{23a} [*Cass. Dio.*, XXXVI, liii [L. III, 90/1.]

^{23b} [Joh. Eph., *de beatis*, xi, p. 144; *HE*, xxxiv-xxxv, pp. 257. *Mich. Syr.*, IV, p. 378 etc. See Markwart, *Südarmenien*, p. 256 and Honigmann, *Ostgrenze*, p. 9 n. 1. On Supani, see Lehman-Haupt, *Armenien*, I, pp. 466-467.]

²⁴ For example *Jos. Styl.*, li, p. xlv, Kavadh had devastated Angēl, Sūph and Armenia [“*Aghēl, la Sophène, l'Arménie*”]. Here Sūph = Sophenē, Arm. Šahunian Cop'k'. (41, 1)

^{24a} [*Cod. Th.*, XII, 13, 6. See Appendix.]

²⁵ *FB*, V, xvlii, “... *նստան արքունի լեալ վաղ վաղ, բնակիչք գաւառին եւ ինքեանք կային ի Հարկի ծառայութեան*”. *Ibid.*, IV, xxiii, “*Արշակ ... յԱնգեղ տանն էր յուսեաւ*”; IV, xxiv, “*յԱնգեղ տանն... գերեզմանք շիրմացն արանցն Արշակունեաց. Բազում գանձք մթերեալ մնացեալ կային*”. V, vii, “*նստիկան Հաւատարիմ*”. The meaning of this term becomes clear from the historian's words, *Ibid.*, V, xvi, “*վերակացու եւ նստիկանս յերկրին Աղծնեաց թողուին*”, where *վերակացու* modifies *նստիկան*. Among the Syrians, the part of Arzanenē which was subject to the *ostikan* was called Arzōn and part of this was known as Arzanenē *κατεφοχὴν* — Ostan Arzōn or even Beθ Ostan (Acustan). Among the bishops present at the Council of 410 were, “*Daniel ep. Arzōn*” and “*Samuel ep. Arzōn de Beth Acustan*”, Chabot, *Syn. Or.*, p. 274. [On Arzōn and Arzanenē, see Markwart, *Südarmenien*, pp. 97, 119-120; Honigmann, *Ostgrenze*, pp. 17, 22-24, 32-34; *Evêchés*, pp. 129-130]. (42, 1)

^{25a} [*FB*, IV, xxiv, “... *զՄերուժանն ... ասպատակ յաշխարհն Հայոց անէին : Զի ընդ Աղծնիս եւ ընդ Ծոփս մեծ, ընդ Անգեղ տունն եւ ընդ գաւառն Անձտայ ընդ Ծոփս Շահունոց, ընդ Մզուր գաւառն եւ ընդ Դարանաղէ, ընդ Եկեղեաց...*”]

^{25b} [*Petr. Patric.*, p. 135, “*Ἰγγληγορήν μετὰ Σοφηνῆς καὶ Ἀρζανηγήν μετὰ Καρδοουρῶν καὶ Ζαβδικηνῆς*”. The CSHB text has “*Ἰντηληγήν*”]. (43, 1)

²⁶ *Amm. Marc.*, XXV, vii, 9 [L. II, 532/3], “... *petebat autem rex, ut ipse aiebat, sua dudum a Maximiano erepta ... quinque regiones Transtigritanes : Arzanenam, et Moxoenam, et Zabdicenam itidemque Rehimenam, et Corduenam*”. (43, 2)

^{26a} [See above, n. 1.]

²⁷ *Amm. Marc.*, XXX, ii, 4-5 [L. III, 310/1], “... *absque mandatis oblatas sibi regiones in eadem Armenia suscepit exiguas ... has easdem imperatori offerens partes quas audacter nostri sumpsero legati*”. (44, 1)

²⁸ *Ibid.*, XXX, ii, 7 [L. III, 310/1], 2 “... *ut ea, quae Victor comes suscepit et Urbicius, armis repeteret ...*”. *Ibid.*, XXXI, vii, 1 [L. III, 424/5], “... *ut super Armeniae statu pro captu rerum componeret impendentium ...*”. (44, 2)

²⁹ [*Ibid.*, XXX, ii, 4 [L. III, 308/9], "... ad arbitrium suum vivere cultoribus eius permissis". This is the time at which Valens issued the decrees: *CJ*, XII, 23 (24), "De, palatinis sacrarum largitionum et rerum privatarum", 2, "D. viii k. Febr. Antiochiae Gratiano A. IIII et Merobaudes conss.". And *Ibid.*, XII, 37 (38), "De erogatione militaris annonae", 6, "D. prid. non. April. Antiochiae Gratiano A. IIII et Merobaude vc. conss.". (45, 1)

³⁰ *Amm. Marc.*, XVIII, ix, 2 [L. I, 464/5], "... verticibus Taurinis ... gentes Transigritanas dirimentibus et Armeniam". (45, 2)

CHAPTER III

^a [Novella XXXI, i, 1, see Appendix I. *Arm. Geogr.*, 29/40. The listing of provinces in the Soukry edition of the *Geography* omits Xorjajn and Palnatun.

"Առաջին աշխարհ Բարձր Հայք,...

... առաջին աշխարհ գաւառս ինն. Դարանաղի, Աղիւն, Մզուր, Եկեղեաց, Մանանաղի, Դերջան, Սպեր, Շարգանք, Կարին...".

Cf. Eremyan, *Armenia*, pp. 55, 76. The *Geography* lists these districts in Armenia. On the problems of the *Geography* in general, and more particularly on the question of the Armenian provinces and the districts included in them, see Eremyan, *Armenia*, Appendix II, pp. 116-120, *et passim*, and Hewsens, *Armenia*.]

¹ *FB*, III, ii and xi, "Դարանաղեաց գաւառորին ի գիւղն ... Թորղան". *Ibid.*, III, xi, and IV, xxiv, "յԱնին յեկեղեաց գաւառն Դարանաղեաց", *Ibid.*, III, ii and xiv; *Ibid.*, V, xxiv-xxv, "յեկեղեաց գաւառի ի Թիլն աւանի". *Ibid.*, V, xxiv, "յապարանս իւր ի իյախ աւանի յեկեղեաց գաւառի"; *Ibid.*, IV, xii, "ի Կարին գաւառէ ի գեղջէ Մարագայ"; *Ibid.*, V, xxxvii, "ի դաշտին Կարնոյ". *Ibid.*, V, xliiv, "ի գաւառն Կարնոյ"; *Ibid.*, IV, xxiv, "Մզուր գաւառ". *Ibid.*, V, xliiv, "ի Սպեր գաւառէ".

Agat, cix, p. 582, "ի Դարանաղեաց գաւառն... ի գեաւղն Թորղան", also *Ibid.*, cxxiv, p. 635; *Ibid.*, v, p. 45, "...յեկեղեաց գաւառ, ի գիւղն Երիզայ"; *Ibid.*, cix, pp. 584-585, "յերէզն աւանին ... Թիլն յաւանի"; *Ibid.*, cx, p. 587, "... ի գաւառն Դերջան ... ի գեւղն զոր Բագայառիճն կոչեն ...".

Koriwn, VII, v, p. 21, "Եկեղեցեացական գաւառէն"; *Ibid.*, XIV, iii, p. 38, "Եպիսկոպոսն Դերջանայ"; *Ibid.*, X, i p. 29, "Խորճենական գաւառ"; *Ibid.*, VII, v, p. 21, "ի Պաղ < անա > կան տանէն", according to the name of the city of Պաղան or Պաղին whence Պաղին—ա—տուն, Պաղան—ական տուն. *Ibid.*, X, i, p. 29 should probably read ի Կարինականսն instead of ի կայենականսն. [*Cf.*, however, the editor's note to *Koriwn*, p. 89 n. 36].

LP, lxxix, p. 472, "ի գաւառին որ կոչի, Շաղագոմ".

MX, III, lx, "Շաղագոմք". *Sebeos*, p. 139, "Իշխանքն Մանադայքն, եւ Դարանադայքն". *LP*, xxiv, p. 134, "Տէր Զաւէն Ման [ան] աղոյ եպիսկոպոս", which should be corrected into "... ի Մարդաղոյ", the form given in the same context by *Eniše*, ii, p. 28, "Եւդաղ եպիսկոպոս Մարդոյաղոյ", though the latter gives the name of the bishop as Eulaios rather than Zawēn. The reading *Ariwo Առիւծ* [for *Aliwn* is given by *Inšicean*, *Description*, p. 2]. (47, 1)

^{1a} [See above, chapter I, pp. 14-16.]

² It is already mentioned in cuneiform inscriptions. *Cf.* Lehmann-Haupt, *Weitere Bericht* and Huntington, *Weitere Bericht*. [Also Lehmann-Haupt, *Armenien*, I, pp. 465 sqq.]. *Asōik*, II, vi, p. 144 has Ասոդին instead of the correct Պաղին which is, however found, *Ibid.*, III, vii, p. 177. [*Cf.* Markwart, *Südarmenien*, pp. 40, 246, and Honigmann, *Ostgrenze*, p. 178 n. 4 and 185]. (47, 2)

³ *Georg. Cyprr.*, p. 49, "κάστρον Παλιός and κάστρον Βα(ίου)λοῦτος. κλίμα Παλινῆς and κλίμα Βιλαβητινῆς". Since the form Παλιός, i.e. the de-nasalized Պաղի — ն exists, can a relationship be sought between it and Balu? *Cf.* the princely house of Paluni = Պալունի. (47, 3)

^{3a} [This city should not be confused with the Bagratid capital, Ani in Širak. Cf. Eremyan, *Armenia*, p. 35.]

⁴ The modern name of these mountains is Gohanam. The same mountains are called *Սեպուհ* in the *Life of St. Hrip'simē* and are identified with the *Մանեայ ալքք*, Alishan, *Hayapatum*, p. 77, "... ի խորշ լերինն Սեպուհ կոչեցեալ որ անունեցաւ Մանեայ ալքք". The name of the mountains in the *Life* [attributed to] Agat'angelos has the sound, *Մանայարք*, which Movsēs Xorenaci interprets as meaning "the cave of Mani = Մանեայ արք", *MX*, II, xci. [On the problems of "Agat'angelos" and its content, see below Chapter X, n. 89a]. This interpretation is unlikely. The initial *Mana-* is more probably related to *Man-alia*. According to Kiepert, *Karte*, Kohanam is located at the source of the Kōmürsuyu, i.e. north of Kemah, while Lynch, *Armenia*, Map, places them east of Kemah, between this city and Erzincan. The monastery of the Holy Illuminator (Surb Lusaworič) in which the kat'olikos found refuge according to *Asolik*, III, v, p. 168, was found here, "... ի մենարան սրբոյ Լուսաւորչին մերոյ, ի լեառն որ Մանեայ Ալքք ասի, ի Դարանաղեաց գաւառին ի վանս Գառնկայ var. Կառնոյ". The modern Ga'ni [Karni], on the bank of the Euphrates, shows that the *Մանեայ Ալքք* are indeed the mountains called Kohanam and Sepuh by Lynch. *Joh. Erzntk.*, p. 127, puts the Sepuh mountains "... ի միջոցս սաՀմանի երկուց գաւառացն Եկեղեաց եւ Դարանաղից" where he believed that Saint Manea had lived. The mountain near Ispir by the residence of the bishop in the monastery of St. John is also called Goan, Inčibean, *Geography*, p. 94. *Cuinet*, I, p. 172, calls these same mountains "Sébouh" and according to his description, "... le *Djorok* ou *Tchorok-sou*, ... prend sa source dans la montagne de *Sébouh*, dans le caza d'Izpir". There must be some misunderstanding here. Cuinet's sources may have referred to a western tributary of the Çoruh which sprang from the Sipikōr (Arm. Surb Grigor) mountains found in the neighbourhood of the Kohanam-Sepuh, and Cuinet mistakenly transferred this information to the tributary from Ispir. [Cf., however, Cuinet's own warning, p. 161 against confusing the Çoruh and the Tortumsuyu. On the Sepuh-Maneay-ayrk', see Eremyan, *Armenia*, pp. 49, 80.] (48, 1)

^{4a} [For Daranakik', see, Markwart, *Südarmenien*, pp. 92 sqq. and Eremyan, *Armenia*, p. 49.]

⁵ *Agat'*, cix, p. 585. To go from Erēz to T'il, St. Gregory the Illuminator was forced to cross the Gayl, "... ընդ գէտն Գալլ յայնկոյս անցանէին.". This is to be interpreted as the river of Erzinka [Erzincan]. [On the Gayl, and the "Other" Gayl, see chapter I n. 26. On T'il, see Honigmann, *Ostgrenze*, pp. 79 sqq. and Chapter II n. 14]. (48, 2)

⁶ *AL*, xxiii, p. 125, "Թէ որպէս եւ ի Մանանաղոյ սաՀմանսն բորբոքեցաւ Հրդեհ մոլորութեանն, ասելի է :

Կունծիկ ոմն Հանուն արեղայ որ բնակէր մօտ ի բերդաքաղաքն որ կոչի Ծիրիի [the Yuzbaşyan edition replacing the earlier one used by Adontz gives the name of this city as Ծիրինի], որ դեռեւս այսօր ագարակին գնորայն անուն կոչի, ...". *Ibid.*, xxiii, p. 128, "... զագարակսն ... որոց անուանքն կոչին միւսմն Կաշէ եւ միւսումն Աղիւսոյ". *Idem.*, "Ի Հատուածս լերինն Պախրայ [որ այժմ կոչի ԳալլաՀաղուտ] ... աւան ինչ էր զոր Բազմաղբիւր կոչեն. ուր գլխաւորապիւրն նշանն ... կանգնեալ էին. որ եւ զանուն գեղջն ի նոյն փոխեալ՝ Խաչ անուանեն մինչեւ ցայսօր". *Ibid.*, xxiii, p. 130, "Երթեալ ... մինչեւ յեզր դեռոյն Եսփրատայ, ուր Մանանաղի ի նմա խառնի : ... յայնկոյս յաւանն, որ կոչի Կոթէր, քանդի եւ դատաւորն անդ իսկ էր". (49, 1)

⁷ Cf. Kiepert, *Karte*, and Lynch, *Armenia*, Map. *Cuinet*, I, p. 198, "Khotour, où passe la route d'Erzeroum à Erzindjan, à 130 kilomètres 750 mètres au sud-ouest de Mamakhatoun; on y voit un très beau pont sur l'Euphrate". [Cf. Eremyan, *Armenia*, p. 63, on the Kotur bridge. On Mananali, see, Honigmann, *Ostgrenze*, pp. 64, 180, 184, 192-193 and the article *Mananalis* in *PW*, XIV (1930), pp. 971-972; also Eremyan, *Armenia*, pp. 64-65, 116, etc.]. (50, 1)

⁸ *AL*, xxiii, pp. 131-132, "ի ըլսանալ ատուրն, ... երթեալ յեպիսկոպոսարանն, որ Փրրիսն կոչի". In view of the form of the name [Piriz], the reading *Փիրիս* is preferable to *Փրրիս*. [However, the form *Փրրիս* is maintained in the Yuzbashtyan edition]. (50, 2)

⁹ There are five MSS. in Venice; the one used by Inčičean reads *Շիրնի*, *Description*, p. 23, Eritsov, Supplement to the "List of Inhabited Sites in the Province of Erzerum". *Izvestiia Kavkazskago Otdeleniia Imperatorskago Russkago Geograficheskago Obshchestva*, VIII (1883), fasc. 1. Supplement, p. 97, takes this to be the Turkish (i.e. Persian) word meaning "sweet", but this is a mistake. [Cf. above, n. 6]. (51, 1)

¹⁰ *Haçköy*, with 32 hearths, *Ibid.*, p. 96. [No settlement of this name can now be identified but the name is preserved in the neighbouring Haç mountains]. (51, 2)

¹¹ *AL*, iii, p. 35, "... մինչև յամուրն, որ կոչի իյաղտոյ Առիճ ի սպռուածն Կարնոյ ...". [Cf. *Ibid.*, x, p. 64]. *Cuinet*, I, p. 160, "Kiaghid-Aridj". Inčičean, *Geography*, p. 79, gives two villages named *Գաղտառիճ*, one Armenian and the other Muslim, not far from each other. *Asoñik*, III, xv, p. 192, "... տալ հմա զԻյաղտոյառիճ Կղէսուրաւն, զՉորմայրի եւ զԿարին, զԲասեան ...". Also, *Ibid.*, III, xiv, p. 278. Çormayr is the district of the springs of the Çoruh, *Υακονδ Καρνερι*, p. 580, "Ճորոխ երանէ ի Հիւրիսոյ լէրանց քաղաքիս ի Թաւ մայրեաց միջոյ ի գաւառն Չորմայրոյ". (52, 1)

¹² Lynch, *Armenia*, II, p. 230. (52, 2)

^{12a} [Strabo, XI, xiv, 5 [L. V, 324/5], "... Καρνήντων καὶ Ξερξηνήν (sc. Δερξήνην) ... Ἀκισσηνήν". *Ibid.*, XI, xiv, 9 [L. V, 328/9], ["Μέταλλα δ' ἐν μὲν τῇ Συσπριτίδι ἐστὶ χρυσὸν ..."]. *Συσπριτίς* = *Σάσπειρος* in *Herodotus* [I, 104, 110; III, 94; IV, 37, 40 etc.] and *Ἑσπερίται* in Xen., *Anab.*, VII, viii, 25, [L. II, 370/1, Cf. p. 370 n. 1]. (53, 1)

^{12b} [Pliny, *NH*, V, xx, 83 [L. II, 284/5], "de Euphrate ... oritur in praefectura Armeniae Maioris Caranitide ... sub radicibus montis quem Capoten appellat ... fluit Derzenen primum, mox Anaeticam, Armeniae regiones a Cappadocia excludens". *Strabo*, X, xiv, 16 [L. V, 340/1], "... τὰ δὲ τῆς Ἀνατιδος διαφερόντως Ἀρμένιοι, ἐν τε ἄλλοις ἰδρυσάμενοι τόποις, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἀκισσηνῇ". *Agat.* [v, p. 45, "... յԵկեղեց գաւառ, ի գեղըն Երիզայ, ի մէջեանն Անաշտական...". *Ibid.*, cix, p. 584, etc.]. *Cass. Dio.*, XXXVI, xlviii, 1 [L. III, 78/9], "... τὴν Ἀναίτην χώραν τῆς τε Ἀρμενίας οὖσαν καὶ θεῶ τινι ἐπωνύμῳ ἀνακειμένην".

^{12c} [Ptolemy, V, xii, 6. See Appendix IVA. *Procopius*, *Pers.*, I, xvii, 11 [L. I, 146/7], "... ὁ ποταμός, [Ἐυφράτης] πρόεισιν ἐς τὴν Κελεσηνὴν καλουμένην χώραν, οὗ δὴ τὸ ἐν Ταύροις τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος, ἱερὸν ἦν...]

^{12d} [Mansi, XI, p. 645, "Γεοργίου ἐπισκόπου Δαρανάλεως τῆς Μεγάλης Ἀρμενίας. Georgius episcopus territorii Daranalae sive Analiblae, Magnae Armeniae regionis".]

^{12e} [Procopius, *Pers.*, II, xxiv, 14 [L. I, 476/7], "Χορζιαννῆς χωρία". *Aed.* III, iii, 9 [L. VII, 192/3], "Χορζάνη".]

¹³ *Georg. Cypr.*, p. 49, "κλίμα Παλῆς. κλίμα Ὀρζιανῆς. κλίμα Μουζουρῶν". (53, 1)

¹⁴ *Strabo*, XI, xiv, 5 [L. V, 324/5], "Καρνήντων καὶ Ξερξηνήν, ἃ τῇ μικρῇ Ἀρμενίᾳ ἐστὶν ὅμορα ἢ καὶ μέρη αὐτῆς ἐστὶ". [Cf. below n. 15]. (54, 1)

14a [See above, pp. 39-40.]

15 *Strabo*, XI, xii, 3 [L. V, 296/7], “... ὁ Εὐφράτης ... ῥέων δ’ ἐπὶ δύοιν δια τῆς Ἀρμενίας τῆς μεγάλης καλουμένης μέχρι τῆς μικρᾶς, ἐν δεξιᾷ ἔχων ταύτην, ἐν ἀριστερᾷ δε τὴν Ἀκιλισσηνὴν εἶτ’ ἐπιστρέφει πρὸς νότον, [συνάπτει δὲ κατὰ τὴν ἐπιστροφὴν τοῖς Καππαδόκων ὁρίοις]”. (54,2)

15a [*Ibid.*, XII, iii, 28 [L. V, 424/5], “... καὶ τῆς Ἀκιλισσηνῆς κατὰ Δάστειρα εὐδρον ἕως καταλαβόμενος (πλησίον δ’ ἦν καὶ ὁ Εὐφράτης ὁ διορίζων τὴν Ἀκιλισσηνὴν ἀπὸ τῆς μικρᾶς Ἀρμενίας ...”).]

15b [*Ibid.*, XI, xiv, 2 [L. V, 320/1], “... ἐκ θατέρου δὲ μέρους ἔχων τὴν Ἀκιλισσηνὴν μεταξὺ ἰδρυμένην τοῦ Ἀντιταύρου τε καὶ τῆς τοῦ Εὐφράτου ποταμίας, πρὶν ἢ κάμπτειν αὐτὴν ἐπὶ νότον”. H.M. Jones, the editor, also substitutes Anti-Taurus for Taurus in this passage. Cf. *Ibid.*, L. V, p. 320 n. 1.]

15c [*Ibid.*, XI, xiv, 5 [L. V, 324/5], “... Ἀκιλισσηνὴν καὶ τὴν περὶ τὸν Ἀντίταυρον, ...”).]

16 The original form is *Ὑωνῶλη* which is found in *Sebeos*, xxxv, p. 139. The form *Ὑωνῶνη* shows the influence of *Ἰωρῶνη*. [Both forms are, however, found side by side in *Sebeos*, *Idem*, “Ὑωνῶνη”, *ἑ* *Ἰωρῶνη*.”. (55, 1)

16a [*Arm. Geogr.*, pp. 29/40. *Ptolemy*, V, vi, 18. See Appendix IVA-C.]

16b [*Itin. Ant.*, 208, p. lx. *Tab. Peut.*, p. 679. See Appendix IVD-E.]

16c [See above, n. a.]

17 [*Ptolemy*, V, vi, 18. See Appendix IVA]. *Strabo*, XI, xiv, 12 [L. V, 332/3], “... τὴν Ἀκιλισσηνὴν ... τὴν ὑπο τοῖς Σωφρηνοῖς πρότερον ὄσαν, ...”. [Cf. L. V, p. 324 n. 1]. *Ibid.*, XI, xiv, 5 [L. V, 324/5], “ὁ μὲν τῆς Σωφρηνῆς καὶ τῆς Ἀκισηνῆς καὶ Ὀδομαντίδος καὶ ἄλλων τινῶν”. (56,1)

18 **Akis-enē*, **αῤῥῆ-υ* resp. *αῤῥῆ-υ*, *αῤῥῆ-υ* - *υ*. *Akis-enē*, **αῤῥῆ-υ* - *αῤῥῆ-υ* - *υ*. *αῤῥῆ-υ* - *αῤῥῆ-υ*, *αῤῥῆ-υ* - *υ*. *Orbis-enē*, **οῤῥῆ-υ*. *Orbalis-enē*, **οῤῥῆ-υ*.

Βασισηνῆ, which is the name given by *Ptolemy* V, xii, 6, to the province lying next along the Euphrates, should perhaps be included here. Incidentally, if this form is not a *lapsus calami* for *Basianē*, the two forms bear the same relationship to each other as *Orbis-enē* and *Orbalis-enē* : *μωυῖ-ων*, **μωυῖ-ωῤῥῆ-υ*, *Βασισηνῆ*. This form is not found in Armenian literature, it was perhaps the earlier name given to the province lying next to *Basianē*, which was subsequently called *Mardak* *Ὑωρηνη* because the *Mardians*, *Μάρδοι* settled in it. [Cf. Müller, notes to *Ptolemy*, pp. 882 n. 5, and 941 n. 11]. (56, 2)

19 *Joh. Erznk.*, p. 143, “*Այլ և ծործորս քո լերանց ի ներքոյ երկրի արեւուրս արի արաւանցեալ ունիս ... որով և Դարան արի կոչիս յայսմ ներքործութենէ*”. (56, 3)

19a [*Strabo*, XI, xiv, 1 [L. V, 334/5], “οἱ δ’ ὑπερθε τῶν Ἀρμενίων ὑπὲρ τὸν Ἄβον καὶ τὸν *Νίβαρον*”.]

19b [*MX*, II, xlviii; III, xlv.]

19c [See above, n. 12d.]

19d [*MX*, II, lxxvi, lxxxiv.]

19e [See below, n. 21a.]

20 *Strabo*, XII, iii, 12 [L. V, 392/3], “... ὠνόμασται δ’ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀλῶν, ἃς παραρρεῖ ...”. *Ibid.*, XII, iii, 39 [L. V, 448/9], “... εἰσὶ δ’ ἐν τῇ *Ξιμνη* αἶλαι ὀρυκτῶν, ἀλῶν, ἀφ’ ὧν εἰκάζουσιν εἰρήσθαι Ἄλυν τὸν ποταμὸν”. *Ibid.*, XII, iii, 37, [L. V, 440/1], “... *Κουλουπηνην* καὶ τὴν *Καμισσηνῆν*, ὁμόρους τῇ τε μικρᾷ Ἀρμενίᾳ ... ἐχούσας ὀρυκτοὺς ἀλας καὶ ἔρρυμα ἀρχαῖον τὰ *Κάμισα*, νῦν κατεσπασμένον”. It is interesting to compare the “*Kulu-*

penē" of Strabo and the "Kolop-ena" [Colopene] of Pliny [*NH*, VI, ii, 8; L. II, 342/3] with the Armenian *Կող-բ* which is also a region containing salt deposits. *Eustathius of Thessalonike*, commenting on verse 784 of Dionysios' *Periergesis*, p. 354, "ῥοαὶ Ἄλως ποταμοῦ ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀρμενίων ὁρῶν", notes, concerning Strabo's etymology, that if the geographer's opinion is accepted, Ἄλως should always be written cum *spiritu aspro*, while those who do not give a rough breathing to the name derive it from ἄλῃ "wandering", meaning that the river wanders through many lands. (58, 1)

^{20a} [*Strabo*, XII, iii, 19-20, [L. V, 400/1-402/3]. Homer, *Iliad*, II, 856. Cf. n. 23.]

²¹ Marr, *Grammar*, p. 98. (58, 2)

^{21a} [Pliny, *NH*, VI, iv, 12; xi, 29 [L. II, 346/7 and 358/9].

²² *Steph. Byz.*, p. 680, "Χαλδία, χώρα τῆς Ἀρμενίας". *Eustathius of Thessalonike*, p. 350. (59, 1)

²³ [Homer, *Iliad*, II, 856-857,

"... αὐτὰρ Ἀλιζώνων Ὀδῖος καὶ Ἐπίστροφος ἦρχον
τηλόθεν ἐξ Ἀλύβης, ὅθεν ἀργύρου ἐστὶ γενέθλη"]

Strabo, XII, iii, 19 [L. V, 400/1], "[Οἱ δὲ νῦν Χαλδαῖοι Χάλυβες τὸ παλαιὸν ὠνομάζοντο, ... ἐκ δὲ τῆς γῆς] τὰ μέταλλα, νῦν σιδήρου, πρότερον δὲ καὶ ἀργύρου". [*Ibid.*, XII, iii, 23; L. V, 410/1, "... ὁ Δημήτριος ... εἰ καὶ μὴ ἔστι νῦν ἐν τοῖς Χάλυψι τὰ ἀργυρεῖα, ὑπάρξαι γε ἐνεδέχετο, ἐκείνῳ γε οὐ συγχωρεῖ, ὅτι καὶ ἔνδοξα ἦν καὶ ἄξια μνήμης, καθάπερ τὰ σιδηρεῖα"]. (59, 2)

²⁴ Gutschmid, *Kleine Schriften*, III, p. 487. (59, 3)

^{24a} [The attribution of this region to Lesser Armenia in the *Armenian Geography* is by no means clear. On pp. 29-30/40, both the Gayl-Lykos and the Akampsis-Voh-Çoruh are said to have their source in the province of Upper Armenia. On pp. 35/46 the Voh is said to flow through both Tayk' and Sper. Yet on pp. 29-30/39-40 both Upper Armenia and Tayk' are given as provinces of Greater Armenia, whereas Tayk' is listed as one of the component districts of Upper Armenia. However, on pp. 28/38 the *Geography* mentions that part of northern Tayk' near the Voh had been taken away from the Armenians presumably by Iberia. Even here, nevertheless, pp. 27/38 the source of the Voh is again placed in Greater Armenia.]

²⁵ Procopius, *Aed.*, III, iv, 1-2 [L. VII, 194/5], "... ἐπὶ τῆς ἄλλης Ἀρμενίας ... Σόταλα πόλις ...". Cf. *Ibid.*, p. 194 n. 1 identifying the "other Armenia" with Lesser Armenia. *Ibid.*, III, iv, 5 [L. VII, 196/7], "... φρούριον δὲ Σατάλων οὐ πολλῶ ἀποθεν ἔχυρον ἄγαν ἐν χώρᾳ Ὀροσηνῶν καλουμένην ὠκοδομήσατο". The region containing Satala, among other localities, was called Orbalisenē by Ptolemy, V, vi, 18, who gave the district further to the south as Orsenē. The Osroenē of Procopius has no connexion with them and should perhaps be linked with the Armenian Erēz. The alternate reading Ὀροσηνῶν is also found, Procopius, "Aedificiis" *CSHB*, p. 253 n. 2. [No such reading is indicated by H.B. Dewing in the Loeb edition of Procopius, *Aed.*, L. VII, p. 196, the possibility of another reading is, however, suggested by the fact that Procopius elsewhere *Pers.*, I, xvii, 34 [L. I, 154/5]; *Aed.*, II, vii, 1 [L. VII, 146/7], etc. lists Osrhoenē in the usual manner together with Mesopotamia]. In this region were also found, in addition to Koloneia, "φρούρια ὠκοδομήσατο τὸ τε Βαιβεργῶν καλούμενον καὶ τὸ Ἀρεων. καὶ τὸ Λυσιόρμον ... σὺν τῷ Λυταραριζῶν. ἔν τε χωρίῳ, ὅπερ Γερμανοῦ καλοῦσι Φοσσάτον, ... ἀλλὰ καὶ Σεβαστείας καὶ Νικοπόλεως ...". *Ibid.*, III, iv, 10-11 [L. VII, 198/9]. (60, 1)

²⁶ *Ibid.*, III, v, 1 [L. VII, 200/1], “Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐν τῇ Ἀρμενίᾳ ἣ ἐστὶν ἐν δεξιᾷ Εὐφράτου ποταμοῦ εἰργάσατο· ὅσα δὲ οἱ ἐν Ἀρμενίᾳ τῇ μεγάλῃ ... Θεοδοσιούπολιν”, *Ibid.*, III, v, 13 [L. VII, 204/5] “... τὰ Βιζανὰ ...” *Ibid.*, III, v, 15 [L. VII, 208/9], “... ἐν χωρίῳ Τζουμνῆ ...” (60, 2)

^{26a} [*Ibid.*, III, vi, 1 [L. VII, 204/5], “... τὰ Τζάνων ἔθνη ... πρόσσοικοι Ἀρμενίοι εἰσὶν”. *Ibid.*, III, vi, 12 [L. VII, 208/9], “... ἐκκλησίαν ἐν χωρίῳ Σχαμαλινῶν καλουμένῳ δειμάμενος ...”]

^{26b} [*Ibid.*, III, vi, 15-16 [L. VII, 208/9],

“Χώραν ἐνταῦθα τινα ἐς τρίοδον ἀποκεκριμένην ξυμβαίνει εἶναι. Ῥωμαῖον τε γὰρ καὶ Περσαρμενίων τὰ ὅρια καὶ Τζάνων αὐτῶν τῇδε ἀρξάμενα ἐθένδε διασκεδάννυται. ἐνταῦθα φρούριον ἐχυρώτατον, οὐ πρότερον ὄν, ὄνομα Ὀρονῶν, ἐξείργασται, κεφάλαιον αὐτοῦ τῆς εἰρήνης πεποιημένος. ἔθνη γὰρ τὰ πρῶτα Ῥωμαῖοις ἢ Τζανικῇ ἐσβατὴ γέγονεν ...”.]

^{26c} [*Ibid.*, III, vi, 20 [L. VII, 210-1]].

²⁷ *Ibid.*, III, vi, 22-26 [L. VII, 210/1-212/3],

“... μετὰ δὲ τοῦ ὅρους τὸν πρόποδα, οὐ Κενὰ τὸ χωρίον ἐν τῷ ὁμαλῷ ξυμβαίνει εἶναι, ἐθένδε τοι ἰόντι ἐπὶ δύοντά που τὸν ἥλιον, τὸ Σισιλισῶν ὄνομα φρούριον ἔστιν, ... ἔθνη δὲ ἰόντι ἐν ἀριστερᾷ πρὸς βορρᾶν ἄνεμον χώρος τίς ἐστιν, ὅνπερ καλοῦσιν οἱ ἐπιχωριοὶ Λογγίνου φοσεῶτον, ἐπεὶ Λογγίνος ἐν τοῖς ἅνω χρόνοις Ῥωμαίων στρατηγός, Ἰσαυρος γένος, στρατεύσας ἐπὶ Τζάνους ποτὲ τῇδε πεποίηται τὸ στρατόπεδον. ἐνταῦθα φρούριον ὁ βασιλεὺς οὗτος ὄνομα Βουργουσῆς δεδημιούργηκεν, ἡμέρας ὁδῷ Σισιλισῶν διέχον ... ἐντεῦθεν ὅρια τῶν Τζάνων τῶν Κοξυλίνων καλουμένων ἐστίν· οὐδὲ γὰρ φρούρια νῦν πεποίηται δύο, τό τε Σχαμαλινῶν καλούμενον καὶ ὅπερ Τζανζάκων ἐπονομάζουσιν ...”.

(61, 1)

²⁸ *Ibid.*, III, vii, 1 [L. VII, 212/3].

(61, 2)

^{28a} [Procopius, *Goth.* IV (VIII), ii, 3 [L. V, 62/3],

“... Τραπεζουντίων δὲ τὰ ὅρια διήκει ἕξ τε κώμην Σουσουρμενα καὶ τὸ Ῥιζαῖον καλούμενον χωρίον, ὅπερ Τραπεζουντίων διέχει δυοῖν ἡμέραιν ὁδὸν διὰ τῆς παραλίας ἐς Λαζικὴν ἰόντι ... τούτων δὲ δὴ τῶν χωρίων ἐν δεξιᾷ τὰ Τζανικῆς ὅρη πάντα ἀνέχει, ἐπέκεινά τε αὐτῶν Ἀρμένιοι Ῥωμαίων κατήκοοι ὥκηται”.

In the case of this passage I have re-placed the quotation from Procopius which was paraphrased by Adontz, but in general this entire section is a paraphrase of Procopius, *Pers.*, I, xv, 20-25 and II, xxix, 14-22 [L. I, 134/5-136/7 and 531/2-534/5]; and *Aed.*, III, vi, 1-12 [L. VII, 204/5-208/9]. See also the following notes.]

²⁹ Procopius, *Goth.*, IV (VIII), ii, 2-8 [L. V, 62/3-64/5]. (61, 3)

³⁰ Procopius, *Pers.* II, xxx, 14 [L. I, 544/5]. (62, 1)

^{30a} [Procopius, *Pers.* II, xxix, 14 [L. I, 530/1-532/3]; *Goth.*, IV, ii, 6 [L. V, 62/3].]

^{30b} [Koloneia is usually identified with the modern Şebin-Karahissar. Cf. Honigmann, *Ostgrenze*, p. 152 n. 2, 215, et al.]

³¹ Procopius, *Aed.*, III, vi, 1 [L. VII, 204/5-206/7] and *Pers.* I, xv, 21-25 [L. I, 136/7]. (62, 2)

^{31a} [Procopius, *Aed.*, III, vi, 18 [L. VII, 208/9-210/1], “... ἐν χωρίῳ δὲ ὁδῷ ἡμέραιν δυοῖν Ὀρονῶν διέχοντι οὐδὲ τῇ Τζάνων τῶν Ὠκενιτῶν καλουμένων τὰ ὅριά ἐστιν (ἐπεὶ ἐς ἔθνη πολλὰ διακέκρυνται Τζάνοι), ἐνταῦθα τι ὀχύρωμα πεποιημένον ἦν τοῖς πάλαι ἀνθρώποις, ... Χαρτῶν ὄνομα”]. See also above nn. 26b, 27.]

^{31b} [Neither Horonōn nor Halane can be identified at present.]

^{31c} [See above, n. 27.]

^{31d} [See below, Chapter IV, p. 64, n. 16a.]

^{31e} [Not. Dig., xxxviii, 30 “Cohors militaria Germanorum, Sisila”. See Appendix IIA.]

³² The reading *Τζαυζάκων* is perhaps preferable to *Τζανζάκων*. [For *Bourgousnoes* and *Schamalinichōn*, see *above*, n. 27]. (65, 1)

^{32a} [*Cf. Cuinet*, I, pp. 87 sqq., "Sandjak de Samsoun (Djanik)".]

³³ *Georg. Cypri.*, p. 24, "Ἐπαρχία Λαζικῆς. ... δ. ὁ τῆς Ζυγανέων". (65, 2)

CHAPTER IV

^a [Vasiliev in his "Review", *ZMNP*, pp. 413-414, takes issue with Adontz's view on the position of Armenia Minor, objecting in particular that more has been read into Ptolemy's description than is warranted by the text. See the next pages of this chapter, as well as Chapter VIII, pp. 157-158.]

¹ *Strabo*, XII, ii, 28 [L. V, 422/3-424/5], "[ἡ μικρὰ Ἀρμενία] ... αὕτη δ' ἐστὶν εὐδαίμων ἱκανῶς χώρα· δυνάσται δ' αὐτὴν κατεῖχον αἰεὶ, καθάπερ τὴν Σωφηνήν, τοτὲ μὲν φίλοι τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἀρμενίοις ὄντες, τοτὲ δὲ ἰδιοπραγοῦντες· ὑπηκόους δ' εἶχον καὶ τοὺς Χαλδαίους καὶ Τιβαρηνούς, ὥστε μέχρι Τραπεζοῦντος καὶ Φαρνακίας διατείνειν τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτῶν". (67, 1)

² *Ibid.*, XII, iii, 1 [L. V., 370/1-372/3]; XII, iii, 29 [L. V, 426/7], "Τὴν μὲν οὖν μικρὰν Ἀρμενίαν ἄλλοι ἄλλων ἐχόντων, ὡς ἐβούλοντο Ῥωμαῖοι, ...". *Cass. Dio.*, XLI, lxxiii [L. IV, 106/7-108/9]; XLIX, xxxiii, xlv [L. V, 406/7-408/9, 430/1-432/3]; LIX, xii [L. VII, 294/5-296/7]. *Tacitus, Ann.*, XI, ix [L. III, 260/1-262/3]; XIII, iii [L. IV, 10/1-12/3]. *Josephus, Ant.*, XIX, viii, 1 (338) [L. IX, 374/5]; XX, viii, 4 (158), [L. IX, 474/5]. (67, 2)

^{2a} [Cf. Cumont, *Annexation*.]

³ *Strabo*, XII, i, 4 [L. V, 348/9], "... εἰς δέκα στρατηγίας διηρημένης τῆς χώρας, πέντε μὲν ἐξητάζοντο αἱ πρὸς τῷ Ταύρῳ, Μελιτηνῇ, Καταονία, Κιλικία, Τυανίτις, Γαρσαυρίτις· πέντε δὲ λοιπαὶ Λαουιανσηνῇ, Σαργαραυσηνῇ, Σαραουσηνῇ, Χαμανηνῇ, Μοριμηνῇ. προσεγένετο δ' ὕστερον παρὰ Ῥωμαίων ἐκ τῆς Κιλικίας τοῖς πρὸ Ἀρχελαίου καὶ ἐνδεκάτῃ στρατηγία, ...". *Ibid.*, XII, iii, 2 [L. V, 372/3], "... Καππαδόκων τῶν πρὸς τῷ Πόντῳ ...". [On Cappadocia, see also Ramsay, *Hist. Geogr.*, pp. 281 sqq.]. (69, 1)

⁴ *Ibid.*, XII, ii, 10 [L. V, 368/9], "... ὅριον δ' ἐστὶ τοῦ Πόντου καὶ τῆς Καππαδοκίας ὁρεινὴ τις παράλληλος τῷ Ταύρῳ, τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔχουσα ἀπὸ τῶν ἐσπερίων ἄκρων τῆς Χαμμανηνῆς, ἐφ' ἧς ἱδρύται φρούριον ... Δασμένδα, μέχρι τῶν ἐωθινῶν τῆς Λαουιανσηνῆς. στρατηγίαι δ' εἰσι τῆς Καππαδοκίας ἧ τε Χαμμανηνῆ καὶ ἧ Λαουιανσηνῆ". (69, 2)

^{4a} [Ptolemy, V, vi, pp. 865-894.]

⁵ [*Ibid.*, V, vi, 4, 9, pp. 866-867, 873-875]. *Pliny, NH*, VI, iii, 3 [L. II, 342/3], "... in Colopene vero Sebastiam et Sebastopolim". (70, 1)

⁶ *Strabo*, XII, iii, 37 [L. V., 440/1], "... Κουλουπηνήν καὶ τὴν Καμισσηνὴν, ὁμόρους οὖσας τῇ τε μικρᾷ Ἀρμενίᾳ καὶ τῇ Λαουιανσηνῇ, ...". As a result of this, some writers, such as Strabo himself, *Ibid.*, XII, iii, 12 [L. V., 392/3] place the source of the Halys in Greater Cappadocia, whereas others, such as *Herodotus*, I, 72 [L. I, 88/9], "... ὁ Ἄλως ποταμός, ὃς ῥέει ἐξ Ἀρμενίου ὄρεος ...". Cf. *Eustathius of Thessalonike* on *Dionysios*, V, 786, "... ῥοαὶ Ἄλως ... ἀρξάμεναι τὸ πρῶτον ἀπ' οὗρεος Ἀρμενίου ...". [Cf. above, Chapter III n. 20].

^{6a} [See above n. 4.]

⁷ *Strabo*, XII, ii, 6 [L. V, 356/7], "... ἐν μὲν τῇ Σαργαραυσηνῇ πολίχνιον ἐστὶν Ἡρπα καὶ ποταμός Καρμάλας, ὃς καὶ αὐτὸς εἰς τὴν Κιλικίαν ἐκδίδωσιν ...". *Ibid.*, XII, v, 4 [L. V, 472/3], "... ἧ τε λίμνη ἐστὶν ἡ Τάττα, παρακειμένη τῇ μεγάλῃ Καππαδοκίᾳ τῇ κατὰ τοὺς Μοριμηνούς, ...". *Ibid.*, XII, ii, 4 [L. V, 352/3], "Διὰ δὲ τῆς Καταονίας ὁ Πύραμος ...". *Ibid.*, XII, ii, 3 [L. V, 352/3], "... διὰ μὲν οὖν τῆς πόλεως ταύτης [Κόμανα] ὁ Σάρος ῥεῖ ποταμός, ...". *Ibid.*, XII, ii, 7 [L. V, 360/1], "... ἐν δὲ τῇ Κιλικίᾳ καλουμένη τὰ Μάζακα, ἡ μητρόπολις τοῦ ἔθνους· καλεῖται δ' Εὐσέβεια καὶ αὕτη, ἐπικλήσιν ἡ πρὸς τῷ Ἀργαίῳ ...". (71, 1)

⁸ Ptolemy, V, vi, 11-25, pp. 876-894, "11. Στρατηγίας Χαμανηνής ... 12. Στρατηγίας Σαργαυρασσηνης ... 13. Στρατηγίας Γαρσαυηρίτιδος ... 14. Στρατηγίας Κιλικίας ... 15. Λυκαονίας ... 16. Στρατηγίας Ἀντιοχανής ... 17. Στρατηγίας Τυανίτιδος ... 18. Ἀρμενίας Μικρᾶς ... 21. Μελιτηνής ... 22. Στρατηγίας Καταονίας ... 23. Στρατηγίας Μουρμηνης ... 24. Στρατηγίας Λαουιανσηνης ... 25. Στρατηγίας Ἀραυηνής ...". [For Ptolemy's entire text, see Appendix IV A, also below n. 11]. (71, 2)

^{8a} [*Ibid.*, V, vi, 21, p. 887. See Appendix IV A.]

^{8b} [*Ibid.*, V, vi, 24, 25, pp. 892-893. See Appendix IV A.]

^{8c} Müller ["Notes" to Ptolemy, V, vi, 11, 24-25, pp. 876, 892-893] equates Arauenē with the present day "*Araban Ovassi*", i.e. the valley of the Araban river which flows into the Euphrates from the right below Samosata, and supposes that this valley was named Arauenē in antiquity, a fact which led Ptolemy to identify it with the Sarauenē of Strabo. However, Müller's hypothesis contradicts Ptolemy's indication, *Ibid.*, V, xiv, 8, pp. 965-967, that Samosata with its surroundings, and consequently Arauenē, were part of Kommagenē. Ptolemy's Arauenē is unquestionably equivalent to Strabo's Sarauenē which Ptolemy transferred into the basin of the Euphrates for the same reason that he erred in his location of Lauiansenē. [All the stations noted by Adontz, except for Iuliopolis are found in the *Tab. Peut.*, pp. 683-684. See Appendix IV E, Cf. *Itin. Ant.*, 210, Appendix IV D, and Müller's "Notes" to Ptolemy, pp. 892-893]. (72, 1)

^{9a} [Cf. Strabo, XII, i, 1-4, 10.]

¹⁰ [Ptolemy, V, vi, 21-22, 24-25. See Appendix IV A]. Tomaschek, *Kiepert Festschrift*, pp. 145 sqq. (73, 1)

^{10a} [Ptolemy, V, vi, 23. See Appendix IV A.]

¹¹ *Amm. Marc.*, XIX, viii, 12 [L. I, 512/3], "... Melitenam minoris Armeniae oppidum ...". *Ibid.*, XX, xi, 4 [L. II, 70/1], "... a Cappadocia per Melitenam, minoris Armeniae oppidum. ...". [Most of the critique of Ptolemy is taken from Ramsay, *Hist. Geogr.*, pp. 62 sqq., 281 sqq., and particularly p. 284]. (74, 1)

^{11a} [See below, pp. 72-74.]

^{11b} [See above n. a.]

¹² Ptolemy, V, vi, 18. [See Appendix IV A for Ptolemy's text.] (74, 2)

¹³ *Itinerarium Imp., Antonini Augusti*, and *Tabula Peutingeriana* in De Fortia d'Urban, *Recueil des itinéraires anciens*, Paris, 1845. [A more recent edition together with a detailed study is to be found in K. Miller, *Itineraria Romana*, which has been used in this edition. For the pertinent texts, see also. Appendices IV D and E. For recent studies of the *Tab. Peut.*, with regard to Armenia, see Manandian, *Trade*, and *Routes*. These two works should be consulted for all of Adontz's subsequent discussion of the Imperial road system in and around Armenia. See also Ramsay, *Hist. Geogr.*, pp. 62 sqq. and the table p. 71]. (75, 1)

¹⁴ Taylor, *Armenia*, cites the inscription discovered by E. Boré in the 1840s. He, himself, found another inscription reading "Nicopolita" at a distance from Pürk at Akşehir, *Ibid.*, p. 302. (75, 2)

¹⁵ [For the relevant portions of the *Itin. Ant.*, pp. 176-177, 183, 207-209, 215-216, see Appendix IV D, replacing Adontz's reference to the older edition cited in n. 13 above. For the relevant portions of the *Tab. Peut.*, see Appendix IV E, also Miller, *Itineraria Romana*, pp. 675, 682, 730-731, and figs. 222, 223]. (76, 1-2)

^{15a} [Zara is still found at the proper location but Kemis has disappeared in modern times. It is still found on Kiepert, *Karte*, BV, and Wilson, *Handbook*, p. 47 and map,

was also familiar with its location, "Koch-hissar ... a large Armenian village On the l. bank of the river [Kizil Irmak], opposite the village, is *Kemis*, anct. *Camisa*, ..". Koçhisar, usually known as Hafeik, is still in existence, *G 46*, p. 411 (7), and *USAFM 341B II*.]

^{15b} [See below n. 16.]

^{15c} [Ptolemy, V, vi, 9, 19, and Müller's notes pp. 874-875. See also Miller, *Itineraria Romana*, pp. 730-731, and pp. 675-676, fig. 222, who places Doganis between Comassa and Zara.]

¹⁶ Kiepert, *Karte*, disregards this point, fusing the two routes of the *Itin. Ant.* and the *Tab. Peut.* into one, and equating Dagalasso with Megalasso. [The equation of the two stations is maintained by Müller, "Notes" to *Ptolemy*, p. 974, and Miller, *Itineraria Romana*, p. 731]. A number of locations with names ending in *alass-us* can be found. In addition to the ones already given, we have the Salmalasso of the *Tab. Peut.*, XI, 1 [Cf. Miller, *Itineraria Romana*, p. 676 and 646 fig. 212, and Manandian, *Trade*, pp. 98-100] and the Sabalassos of *Ptolemy* [V, vi, 12]. There is a second Megalasso in the *Tab. Peut.*, X, 4. It is also in the vicinity of Sebasteia but on the other side of the city in the direction of Caesarea [Cf. Miller, *Itineraria Romana*, p. 730 and fig. 234], and is probably the station called Sabalassos by *Ptolemy* [This opinion is shared by Müller, *Ptolemy*, p. 877, notes]. Unless the ending *alass-us* corresponds to *αληδ* "village", it should be related to the class of terms with the ending *-ali* in the genitive.

(78, 1)

^{16a} [*Itin. Ant.*, pp. 183, 207. *Tab. Peut.*, X, 5-XI, 1. For all references to the text of the *Itineraries*, see Appendix IV D and E.]

^{16b} [Adontz gives the name of this station as Caltiorissa, but Miller, *Itineraria Romana*, p. 679, gives it as Caleorsissa.]

^{16c} [*Itin. Ant.*, pp. 215-216.]

^{16d} [*Ibid.*, pp. 207-208.]

^{16e} [*Tab. Peut.*, X, v-XI, 1. Cf. Miller, *Itineraria Romana*, pp. 679-680, and 680 fig. 223.]

^{16f} [Gölaris can be found on *USAFM 341 B II*, but it is no longer listed in *G 46*. Cf. Miller, *Itineraria Romana*, p. 679, who identifies Caleorsissa with Bapsi. The Sinibel mountains noted by Kiepert, *Karte B V* have also disappeared from modern nomenclature].

^{16g} [For Gercanis-Gerdjanis see Kiepert, *Karte B V*.]

¹⁷ The name of the station is derived from *bub-ali*, which is similar to *an-ali* and *an-alibna*. Tomaschek, *Kiepert Festschrift*, p. 139, derives *analibla* (pro *analibna*) from the Arm. *անաղի-բղի* "salzloser Sprudel". [As for Draconis, though Chapul köprü can still be found in Kiepert, *Karte*, B V, no such a place can be identified at present. Cf. Miller, *Itineraria Romana*, p. 682 who identifies Draconis with Melikscherik, presumably Melikşerif, which is still in existence, *G 46*, p. 464].

^{17a} [*Itin. Ant.*, p. 209; *Tab. Peut.*, XI, 1-2].

¹⁸ Taylor, *Armenia*, p. 309. [Cf. Wilson, *Handbook*, p. 252]. (80,1)

^{18a} [Urumya is given as Erumya on Kiepert, *Karte*, B V at the location indicated by Adontz, but it cannot be found on modern maps. Wilson, *Handbook*, p. 252 mentions a number of villages in this district, but fails to give their names.]

¹⁹ *Theoph. Cont.*, p. 166, etc., *Τεφρική*. *Sym. Mag.*, p. 690, gives *Ἀφρική* instead of *Τεφρική*, which corresponds to the "castle of Abrik" of Arab sources, Le Strange,

Lands, p. 119. The name of the city is reminiscent of the Arm. *տափարակ*, unless it is **տաւրիկ* a diminutive for *տաւր* "Taurus". According to *Ibn Serapion*, [pp. 11/-54, cf. Le Strange, "Notes", p. 58 and *Lands*, p. 119] the river was likewise called "Nahr Abrik" and emptied into the Euphrates near the fortress. [There seems to have been a misreading of this passage of *Ibn Serapion*, q.v.]. The ancient fortress may have been located nearer the Euphrates on the site of the present Urumya khan. [There does not seem to be any evidence for the moving of the site of the Paulician capital of Tephrikē, which is well known through both Greek and Muslim sources. See, Le Strange's numerous studies on this question]. The name of the other station, Zenocopi seems to contain the Armenian word *կապ*, *կապան* "defile, mountain pass", Cf. *կամր-կապ*, *կամարկապ*, according to Inčičean, *Geography*, p. 307, a village near Eğin, at whose approximate location the historical Zenocopi must have been found. [This location for Zenocopi generally agrees with that of Miller, *Itineraria Romana*, p. 682, who likewise places it "j. vermutlich bei Egen". (81, 1)

^{19a} [The location of Dascusa and of the Angu çay is still problematic. Kiepert, *Karte*, C V, and Miller, *Itineraria Romana*, pp. 682 and 680, fig. 223, place Dascusa slightly north of the confluence of the Arsanas (Murat) with the main branch of the Euphrates (Kara-su — Firhat). According to this identification, the Angu-çay should correspond to the modern Arapkir çayı (*G 46*, p. 40, *USAFM* 341 B III). According to Adontz's localization of Dascusa, "... in the vicinity of Eğin", however, this station should have lain north rather than south of Arapkir.]

²⁰ *Theoph. Cont.*, p. 166, Ἀργαῶν [Cf. Honigmann, *Ostgrenze*, p. 52, et al.]. The upper course of the Angu-çay is called Gortuk *Գորտուկ* "frog", Might not Arangas be the Arm. *արանդ* "lizard" = *անդ* (Marr, *Physiol.*, p. 50 [Cf. Malχaseanç, *Armenian Dictionary* (Beirut, 1955) I, p. 253, col. 3]), and be an ancient name of the Gortuk river? [The identification of Arangas and Argaun is not suggested by Miller, *Itineraria Romana*, p. 682]. (81, 2)

²¹ Tomaschek, *Armenia*, pp. 139 sqq. (81, 3)

²² Inčičean, *Geography*, pp. 239, *Թախթուկ* and 288, *Թախթուխ*. Kiepert, *Karte*, B V, gives "Tahdud". These are the stations of the Turkish *Jahān Numā* according to Inčičean, *Geography*, p. 293. Kiepert gives the stations as: "Tutmadj, Kangal, Aladja Han, Bally Kaja, Hasan Badrik". Inčičean replaces the last station by "Ekim Han", but since, as he admits himself, *Ibid.*, p. 323, Ekim-han was but recently built, Hasan Badrik, which was already known to Arab sources, seems preferable [This identification is also accepted by Miller, *Itineraria Romana*, p. 684]. Cf. Tomaschek, *Kiepert Festschrift*, p. 140. (81, 4)

²³ *Theoph. Cont.*, p. 374, "... καθ' ὁδοῦ δὲ εἰς τὸ Ἀραν φάρμακον παρὰ ἀνθρώπου οὐτοῦ λαβὼν τέθνηκεν, καὶ θάπτεται εἰς τὸ Σπυνν τοῦ Ἀραν τὴν κορυφὴν". Tomaschek, *Kiepert Festschrift*, p. 147. Ptolemy's Φούφρηνα pro Φου<σ>φήνη [V, vi, 20], and Φουσι-πάρα [V, vi, 21], might be identified with Euspoena and Pisonos. [This hypothesis is also found in Müller's "notes", *Ibid.*, pp. 896-897]. (82, 1)

^{23a} [Ptolemy, V, vi, 21.]

^{23b} [*Itin. Ant.*, p. 182.]

²⁴ [Ptolemy, V, vi, 10, "Aza"]. Pliny, *NH*, VI, 26 [L. II, 356/7], "... oppida celebrantur in minore (sc. Armenia) Caesarea, Aza, Nicopolis". (82, 2)

^{24a} [Ptolemy, V, vi, 19-21.]

²⁵ Ramsay, *Hist. Geogr.*, pp. 248-250. [On the possible identification of Orsa and Osdara, see Müller, "Notes", to Ptolemy, p. 887. See also, below n. 27]. (83, 1)

²⁶ *Theoph. Conf.*, p. 409, “ .. παρέλαβε δόλω τὸ Χαρσιανὸν κάστρον ”. *Theoph. Cont.*, p. 354, “ ... ἡ πόλις ἡ ἐπάνυμος Ὑψηλή ... ”. *Cedr.*, II, p. 250, “ ... ἡ κατὰ τὸ Χαρσιανὸν διακειμένη πόλις Ὑψηλή ”. On the basis of these authorities, Tomaschek, *Kiepert Festschrift*, p. 149, sought Charsianon between Koçhisar and Ipsele. [See next note].

(83, 2)

²⁷ Inđičean, *Geography*, p. 288, *Ἰηρσωνῶν*. Kiepert, *Karte*, B V, “Chorzana”. [Horsana still exists in the position indicated by Adontz, *G* 46, p. 294 (2), but his identification of this village with Charsianon is categorically rejected by Honigmann, *Ostgrenze*, pp. 49 sqq., “Die Gleichsetzung [of the κάστρον Χαρσιανόν] mit dem j. Chorzana am Qyzyl Yрмаq östlich von Siwās durch Adonc scheint mir unmöglich, da Charsianon zweifellos westlicher als Sebasteia lag! ”. [Cf. Pertusi, *Themes*, pp. 123-124].

(83, 3)

²⁸ Tomaschek, *Kiepert Festschrift*, p. 149 [Cf. Honigmann's objection in preceding note].

(83, 4)

^{28a} [*Ptolemy*, V, vi, 20.]

^{28b} [Müller, “Notes” to *Ibid.*, p. 887, “Pro Οὐαρσάπα legendum puto Οὐάρπασα hod. Yarpus ... Ἀραβισσός ...”, also p. 889. Cf. Ramsay, *Hist. Geogr.*, pp. 271-273; Miller, *Itineraria Romana*, pp. 736-737, and Pertusi, *Themes*, p. 145, Sarsapi = Kara üyük.]

^{28c} [*Itin. Ant.*, p. 178.]

^{28d} [Kiepert, *Karte*, C V. Also Miller, *Itineraria Romana*, p. 736.]

²⁹ As, for example in Le Strange, *Lands*, p. 119.

(85, 1)

³⁰ Lactantius, *de mort.*, vii, 4, “... prouinciae quoque in frustra concisae: multi praesides et plura officia singulis regionibus ac paene jam ciuitatibus incubare, ...” [Cf. Jones, *LRE*, I, pp. 42 sqq., 373 and notes].

(85, 2).

^{30a} [For the relevant parts of the text of the *Laterculus Veronensis*, see Appendix II B]

³¹ Mommsen, *Verzeichniss*, p. 489. [On the date of the *Laterculus Veronensis*, see Palanque, “Notes” to Stein, *Bas Empire*, II, p. 437 n. 22, and Jones, *LRE*, pp. 43, 1073 n. 49].

(85, 3)

^{31a} [See Appendix II B, for the context of this diocese.]

³² C. Jullian, “De la réforme provinciale attribuée à Dioclétien”, *RH* XIX (1882). [For more recent studies of Diocletian's reforms, see the Bibliographical Note, and above n. 30].

(86, 1)

³³ Mommsen, *Laterculus*, p. 233, and *Verzeichniss*, p. 489. This date is accepted by most scholars, see Jones, *LRE*, II, p. 1451.

(86, 2)

^{33a} [For the relevant parts of the *Laterculus Polemii Silvii*, see Appendix II C.]

³⁴ *Nov. XXVIII*. Cf. Jones, *LRE*, I, p. 43.

(86, 3)

³⁵ *Men. Prot.*, p. 365, incorrectly attributes this to Theodosius II. [Cf. Jones, *LRE*, II, p. 1459].

(86, 4)

³⁶ Güterbock, *Römisch-Armenien*, p. 25.

(87, 1)

^{36a} [*Not. Dig.*, xxv, 16; *Ver.*, ii, 4; *Lat.*, vii, 4. See Appendices II A-C.]

³⁷ *Amm. Marc.*, XXIII, v, 11 [L. II, 340/1].

(88, 1)

^{37a} [Gelzer, *Patr. Nic.*, “III Index Prouinciarum”, p. 250. Schwartz, *Bischofslisten*, pp. 61, 74, 81. Honigmann, *Liste*, p. 46, though he notes *Idem*, n. 2 “Il n'est pas sûr que, dans l'archétype de A V, l'Ἀρμενία μικρά et l'Ἀρμενία μεγάλη aient été distinguées; elles étaient peut-être réunies sous le titre Ἀρμενία.”]

³⁸ Greg. Naz., *Orat.*, XLIII, 58, “... τῆς γὰρ πατρίδος ἡμῶν εἰς δύο διαιρεθείσης ἡγεμονίας “καὶ μητροπόλεις”. *Malalas*, p. 342, “Βάλης καὶ τὴν δεύτερα Καππαδοκίαν

ἐποίησεν ἐπαρχίαν, ἀπομερίσας αὐτὴν ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης". [Cf. Jones, *LRE*, II, p. 1459, and Honigmann, *Constantinople*, p. 29]. (88, 2)

³⁹ *Cod. Theod.*, XXX, xi, 2 = *CJ*, XI, 47, 10, "... per Commagensium et Ariarathensium et Armeniae secundae Amasenorum, Hellesponti et Diocaesariensium Cappadociae secundae urbes ... *Dat. VI. Kal. April. Constantinopoli, Honorio et Evodio Coss. (386)*". The decree of Theodosius II in 420, *CJ*, VIII, 10, 10, speaks of "... utramque Armeniam" i.e. of Armenias I and II. (88, 3)

⁴⁰ *Amm. Marc.*, XVIII, ix, 2 [L. I, 464/5], XX, xi, 4 [L. II, 70/1]. (88, 4)

⁴¹ The episcopal list in *Mansi*, III, 568. The Greek text was edited by Beniševič, *Syntagmata*, p. 87, "Ἀρμενία μικρά" with the cities of, "Καισαρεία, Νύση, Τνάνα, Κολωνία, Παρνασός, Ναζιανζός". [Cf. Honigmann, *Constantinople*, pp. 28-31, and *Original Lists*, pp. 20-21]. (89, 1)

⁴² Basil Caes., *Ep. LXXIV*, [L. II, 70/1], "... μήτοι νομιζεῖν αὐτοὺς κεκτηθῆσθαι ἀντὶ μᾶς ἐπαρχίας ... ἀλλὰ παραπλήσιόν τι πεποιήκασιν, ὥσπερ ἂν εἴ τις ἵππον ἢ βοὺν κεκτημένος, εἴτα διχῇ διελών, δύο νομίζοι ἔχειν ἑνὸς ἄντι. οὔτε γὰρ δύο ἐποίησε, καὶ τὸν ἕνα διέφθειρεν, ...". (89, 2)

^{42a} [Ramsay, *Hist. Geogr.*, p. 325. Jones, *LRE*, II, p. 1458. Cf. *Nov. XXXI* in Appendix I.]

^{42b} [On the date and interrelation of George of Cyprus, Hierokles and their sources, see Jones, *CREP*, p. 503, *LRE*, II, 1451, and Honigmann, *Synekdemos*, pp. 1 sqq., and 49 sqq.]

^{42c} [For the *Answers* to the Emperor Leo, see, Chapter VIII n. 1 and Appendix II H.]

⁴³ *Mansi*, VII, 590. [See Appendices II D-H, for the relevant texts].

^{43a} [This portion of George of Cyprus is drawn from the *Notice* of Basil the Armenian, who lists these sees under the heading of Armenia II. See Appendix II E.]

^{43b} [Adontz's order in this table has been maintained for the sake of convenience and clarity, but it is not the order of the text, *q.v.*]

^{43c} [The text lists these sees merely as Armenia, though it is obvious from them that they are the bishoprics of Armenia II.]

^{43d} [The order of Kukusos and Arabissos is reversed in the text.]

^{43e} [The order of Komana and Ariarathē is reversed in the text.]

V. TOPONYMY

This appendix is an attempt at a partial synthesis of the geographical information found in Adontz's work together with the identifications of later scholars and the modern forms of toponyms. The material is presented in tabular form, with all the equivalents of a given toponym, ancient (Armenian and Classical) or modern, being given whenever possible. Every equivalent form of a toponym has been treated as a separate entry and provided with the available literary and map references relevant to it. Hence, all alternatives should be consulted in order to obtain the complete information. Variant forms, however, are given as part of their main entry without additional information, although, in the case of provinces, an attempt has been made to indicate the source in which the variant form occurs. Scholars continue to disagree as to the identification and position of a number of localities, so that no attempt has been made to reconcile divergent opinions which will be found in the references.

The main works consulted for this appendix have been: Eremyan, *Hayastan est "Ašxarhaçoyc"* [E]; Toumanoff, *Studies in Christian Caucasian History* [T], (on the provinces), and the Department of the Interior's *Gazetteer No. 46 : Turkey* [G]; The maps used were : Eremyan's *Hayastan est "Ašxarhaçoyc"*, and the *Atlas of the Armenian SSR* [AA], (for Armenian toponyms); Calder and Bean's *A Classical Map of Asia Minor* [CM], and the *Grosser Historischer Weltatlas I* [HW] (for Classical names); and the *USAF Aeronautical Approach Chart* [U] (for the modern equivalents). Miller's *Itineraria Romana* [M] is the references given for the stations in the *Tabula Peutingeriana* and the *Itinerarium Antonini*. Other references are given only where particularly relevant or if they are not included in the corresponding notes. References to Lynch's and Kiepert's maps have been omitted as incorporated in Adontz's work, and reflecting conditions existing in 1908 rather than at the present time.

Of necessity, references have been highly selective, or even arbitrary, and severely limited, since any pretence at exhaustiveness would have expanded this appendix beyond manageable size and far transcended its modest scope. The shortcomings of such a limited attempt

are far too obvious to require comment; the most that can be hoped here, is that this listing will provide some minimal assistance to the reader faced with the chaotic state of Anatolian toponymy at the present time.

A. PROVINCES

The following abbreviations have been used in this section in addition to those given in the Bibliography and Notes :

- Agat'. Agat'angelos, *Patmut' iwn* [History], 3rd ed. (Venice, 1930).
- Aed. Procopius, "On Buildings", *Works*, H.B. Dewing and G. Downey edd. and trans (Cambridge, Mass.-London, 1940), VII.
- A.M. Ammianus Marcellinus, *The Surviving Books of the History*, J.C. Rolfe ed. and trans (Cambridge, Mass.-London, 1950).
- de B. *Johannis Episcopi Ephesi ... Commentaria de Beatis Orientalibus ...*, W.J. van Douwen and J.P.N. Land trans. (Amsterdam, 1889).
- B.L. *Girk' T'w'oc* [The Book of Letters] (Tiflis, 1901).
- CJ "Codex Justinianus", P. Krüger ed. in *CJC*, II, 8th ed. (1906).
- C.Th. *Codex Theodosianus*, T. Mommsen ed. (Berlin, 1905).
- D.A.I. Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Administrando Imperio*, G. Moravscik et al. edd., (Budapest-London, 1949, 1962).
- E. Eremyan, S.T., *Hayastanə əst "Ašxarhaçoyç"* [Armenia According to the "Armenian Geography"], (Erevan, 1963).
- G.C. Georgius Cyprus, *Descriptio Orbis Romani*, H. Gelzer ed. (Leipzig, 1890).
- Goth. Procopius, "The Gothic War", *Works*, H.B. Dewing ed. and trans. (Cambridge, Mass.-London, 1919-1928), III-IV.
- H.S. Hierokles, *Synekdemos*, E. Honigsmann ed. and trans. (Brussels, 1939).
- L "Laterculus Polemii Silui" in Seeck, *Not. Dig.*
- ad L. "Collectio Sangermanensis, [Epistulae ad Leonem Imperatorem]", *ACO*, II-v.
- M Mansi, *Sacrorum Consiliorum Nova et Amplissima Collectio*, new ed. (Paris, 1901).
- M.S. *Chronique de Michel le Syrien ...*, J.B. Chabot ed. and trans. (Paris, 1899-1904).
- N "Novellae", R. Schoell and W. Kroll edd., *CJC*, III, 6th ed. (1912).
- N.D. *Notitia dignitatum*, O. Seeck ed. (Berlin, 1876).
- N.H. Pliny, *The Natural History*, H. Rackham ed. and trans. (Cambridge, Mass.-London, 1938-1965).
- P. *Claudii Ptolemaei Geographia*, C. Müller ed. (Paris, 1901).
- Pers. Procopius, "The Persian Wars", *Works*, H.B. Dewing ed. and trans. (Cambridge, Mass.-London, 1914), I.
- P.P. "Ex historia Petri Patricii ...", I. Bekker and C. Niebuhr edd., *CSHB*.
- S Strabo, *The Geography*, H.L. Jones ed. and trans. (Cambridge, Mass.-London, 1960-1961).
- St. Byz. Stephanus Byzantinus, *Ethnika*, A. Meinicke ed. (Berlin, 1849).
- S.O. Chabot, J.B., *Synodicon Orientale* (Paris, 1902).

T	Toumanoff, C., <i>Studies in Christian Caucasian History</i> (Georgetown, 1963).
de Th.	Constantine Porphyrogenitus, <i>de Thematibus</i> , A. Pertusi ed. (Vatican city, 1952).
VL	"Laterculus Veronensis" in Seeck, <i>Not. Dig.</i>
X	Xenophon, <i>The Anabasis of Cyrus</i> , C.L. Brownson ed. and trans. (Cambridge, Mass.-London, 1950-1961).
ZM	Zacharias Rhetor, <i>Historia Ecclesiastica</i> , E.W. Brooks trans. (Paris, 1921).
(d.)	diocese.
(s.)	strategy.
(th.)	theme.

The coordinates given in Armenian letters in Eremyan's map have been transcribed into Latin characters, *E.g.* Ք-4 = B-4.

Coordinates are invariably given in the customary order: Latitude-Longitude.

For a translation of Eremyan's tables, *Armenia*, pp. 116-120; see Hewsen, *Armenia*, pp. 326-342.

PROVINCE	VARIANTS	EQUIVALENTS	REFERENCES		NOTES
			EASTERN	CLASSICAL	
Abaran . . . . .					.See Aparan.
Abasgia	Abasgoi Abazgoi al-Abhāz Bazgun	Awazov ašxarh Abkhazia	E41, 101		≠ Basgun. T. 60 n. 58, 209, 266, 405 nn. 52, 54, 496-497. See Ch. XII, n. 14.
Abasgoi . . . . .					.See Abasgia.
Abazgoi . . . . .					.See Abasgia.
Abeleank'			E.31, 118-xv/3 B-5		T. 220.
al-Abhāz . . . . .					.See Abasgia.
Abkhazia		Abasgia			.See Abasgia.
Aboçi . . . . .					.See Ašoçk'
Ačara . . . . .					.See Adzharia.
Acisenē . . . . .					.See Akilisenē.
Açwerk	Arasx Arisi	Ovëa	E.38, 117-vii/4 D-6		
Adiabena . . . . .					.See Adiabenē.
Adiabenē	Adiabena	Hedayab Nor Širakan Median March Kadmē ?	E.49, 72	P. V, xvii, 4 S. XI, v, 8; XI, xiv, 12 XVI, i, 1, 19	T. 129, 131, 133, 148, 163-166, 197, 200, 305, 322 n. 76. See Ch. XIV n. 60, and Nor Širakan and Kadmē.
Adzharia	Ačara	Egr . . . . .			.See Egr.
Aegyptus				P. IV, v N.D. N. VIII N. VIII S. XI, vii, 1	
Aegyptus I					
Aegyptus II					
Ainiana					

PROVINCE	VARIANTS	EQUIVALENTS	REFERENCES		NOTES
			EASTERN	CLASSICAL	
Akē			E.32, 117-viii/17 D-5		T. 197.
Akilisenē	Acisenē	Ekeleaç	E.50, 116-I/4	P. V, xii, 6	T. 73, 132, 137 n. 240, 166, 194
	Acilisenā	Anaetica	G-3	S. XI, xii, 3,	n. 209, 210, 218, 233 n. 291, 322
	Akisenē	Anaitis chōra		XI, xiv, 2, 5, 12, 16	n. 76.
	Ekelenzines	Anahtakan		XII, iii, 8	See Ch. III nn. 1, 12-a-c, 18;
	Kelesenē			CM Nd	V, 60 and Kozluk kazasi.
	Keletzenē	Kozličan ? Kozluk kazasi ?		Pers. I, xvii, 11 M. IX, 391; XI, 613.	
Ałahēš			E.32, 117-ix, 6 G-7		
Alanaç erkir . . . . .					. See Alania.
Alandost . . . . .					. See Alandrot.
Alandrot	Ałwanrot		E.33, 117-viii/26		
	Alandost		G-8		
Alania	Alanaç erkir		E.32		T. 199.
			A-5		
Ałbak (Mec)	Great Albak	Başkale kazasi	E.33, 117-viii/18		G. 78, 38°10' × 44°10'
	Elbak		G-6		T. 199-200, 219, 304, 305 n. 119. See Ch. XI, n. 71.
Ałbak (P'ok'r)	Lesser Albak		E.33, 117-vi/11 D-6		T. 181 n. 143, 199-200.
Albania		Ałwank'		P. V, xi	T. 83, 102 n. 158, 185-186, 219,
		Arran		S. XI, iv; xiv, 7	258 n. 362, 405 n. 54, 438, 467,
		Řan			476 n. 168, 477-478, 483-484,
					499. See Ch. IX, p. 173-174 and nn. 21, 22a.

PROVINCE	VARIANTS	EQUIVALENTS	REFERENCES		NOTES
			EASTERN	CLASSICAL	
Alewan			E.32, 117-xi/10 G-7		
Aliovit	Alit hovit Alovit		E.33, 116-iv/13 G-5		T. 205-206.
Alit hovit . . . . .					.See Aliovit.
Aliwn	Ariwe		E.33, 116-i/2 G-3		
Aljn	Aljnik' Arjn	Arzanenē Arabian March beθ Arzōn	E.33-34, 116-iii D-4		
Aljnik' . . . . .					.See Aljn.
Alovit . . . . .					.See Aliovit.
Alwank'	Albania	Albania Arran Ran	E.34, 120 B6-B8		
Alwanrot . . . . .					.See Alandrot.
Alwē			E.34, 118-xii/4 B-7		
Ameł . . . . .					.See Amol.
Aml . . . . .					.See Amol.
Amol	Ameł Aml		E.115		
Anaetica	Anaītis Chōra	Anahtakan Akilisenē		N.H. V, xx	.See Akilisenē.
Anahtakan		Anaetica	Agat., v		.See Akilisenē.
Anaītis Chōra		Anaetica		C.D. XXXVI, xlviii S. X, xiv, 16.	.See Akilisenē.
Angelenē . . . . .					.See Ingilenē.
Angeł tun	Angł	Ingilenē	E.35, 116-iii/1 G3-G4		

PROVINCE	VARIANTS	EQUIVALENTS	REFERENCES		NOTES
			EASTERN	CLASSICAL	
Angl . . . . .					.See Angel tun.
Anjaḡi joi	Anjaḡ	Ṭncayeçi	E.36, 117-viii/19 G-6		T. 220. .See Ch. XI n. 60.
Anjewaçik'	Anjowaçik' Anjawaçik'	Norduz	E.36, 117-viii/11 D-5		T. 198-199, 200. .See Ch. XI pp. 247, 250 and Norduz.
Anjit'	Hanjit' Hânâzit Handsith Hanzith Khandchoot	Anzitenē	E.36, 116-ii/6 G-3		
Anjowaçik'					.See Anjewaçik'.
Antiochianē				P. V, vi, 16	
Anzetēnē					.See Anzitenē.
Anzitenē		Anjit'		P. V, xii, 8 CJ, I, 29, 5. N. XXXI de B. xxxi, lviii CM Ne	T. 131, 137-138 n. 240, 166 n. 63, 167, 170-172, 175-176, 241, 303. .See Ch. II nn. 9, 19b, 20.
Apahunik'			E.36, 116-iv/14 G-5		T. 132, 218. .See Ch. XI n. 50a.
Aparan	Abaran . . . . .				.See Nig.
Arabastan . . . . .					.See Arwastan.
bēθ Arabaye . . . . .					.See Arwastan.
Arabia Augusta Libanensis				N.D.	
Arabia Euphratensis . . . . .					.See Euphratensis.
Arabian March . . . . .					.See Arzanenē.
Arac . . . . .					.See Arac kolmn.

PROVINCE	VARIANTS	EQUIVALENTS	REFERENCES		NOTES
			EASTERN	CLASSICAL	
Arac kolmn	Arac		E.38, 118-xv/21 G-6		
Aragacotn			E.38, 118-xv/10 B-6		T. 197.
Arajin Hayk'					.See Armenia I.
Aranrot			E.37, 118-xii/1 B-7		
Arauenē				P. V, vi, 25	.See Ch. IV n. 9.
Arawaneank'					.See Araweneank'
Arawelean					.See Ch. XI n. 16.
Araweneank'	Arawaneank'				.See Ch. XI n. 16.
Araxenōn pedion		Erasxajor		S. XI, xiv, 4	.See Aršarunik'.
Afberani	Afberan		E.37, 117-viii/8 G-5		T. 205. .See Ch. XI n. 57.
Arçaχ	Arjaχ	Karabağ	E.41, 117-x		T. 129, 132, 148, 217 n. 250, 332.
	Arcaχ	Södk'	B6-G7		.See Ch. IX p. 174.
Arčišakovit	Arčišahovit	Erçek	E.40, 117-viii/4 G-5		.See Ch. XI n. 56.
Ardozakan					.See Artaz.
Arē	Rē		E.115		
Arewik'			E.39, 117-ix/11 G-7		
Argastovit			E.39, 117-v/7 D-5		
Argovteaçovit					.See Argwet'.
Argwelk'					.See Argwet'.
Argwet'	Argwelk'		E.39, 119		
	Argovteaçovit		A-5		
Arisi					.See Açwerk.

PROVINCE	VARIANTS	EQUIVALENTS	REFERENCES		NOTES
			EASTERN	CLASSICAL	
Ārīwç					<i>.See Aliwn.</i>
Arjn					<i>.See Aljn.</i>
Ark'ayīç					<i>.See Mekk' Aranjnak.</i>
Armenia I		Arajin Hayk'		CJ I, 29, 5 N. VIII, XXXI N.D. ad L., H.S., G.C.	T. 196, 331.
Armenia II		Erkrord Hayk'	E.51 G-2	N.D. C.Th. XXX, xi, 2 C.J. I, 29, 5 N. VIII, XXXI	T. 331.
Armenia III		Errord Hayk'	E.51		T. 331.
Armenia IV		Çorrord Hayk'	E.57, 116-ii	N. XXXI	T. 331.
		Üpper Mesopotamia	G3-G4	G.C.	<i>See Ch. IX n. 42.</i>
		Cop'k'			
		Sophenē			
Armenia IV (Altera)		Justinianeā		G.C.	T. 129, 131, 173-175.
				M. XI, 992	<i>See Ch. IX n. 42.</i>
Armenia Altera		Satrapiae		(Aed. III, i, 17)	<i>See Satrapiai.</i>
Armenia Interior		Barjr Hayk'		N. XXXI	T. 148, 175, 193 and n. 208, 194-196. <i>See Ch. III.</i>
Armenia Magna					<i>.See Armenia Maior.</i>
Armenia Maior		Armenia Magna		P. V, xii	T. 72-73, 193 n. 208, 195-196,
		Buzurg Armenan		S. XI, xii, 3-4	277, 286, 451 n. 53, 459 n. 98.
		Mec Hayk'		XII, iii, 29 xiv, 4-8 CM Oe-Pc	
Armenia Megalē					<i>.See Armenia Maior.</i>

PROVINCE	VARIANTS	EQUIVALENTS	REFERENCES		NOTES
			EASTERN	CLASSICAL	
Armenia Mikra					<i>.See Armenia Minor.</i>
Armenia Minor		P'ok'r Hayk'		P. V, vi, 18	T. 72-73, 76 n. 84, 82-84, 277,
		Armenia Mikra		S. XI, xii, 3	286, n. 35, 451 n. 53.
		Lesser Armenia		XII, iii, 28/29	<i>.See Ch. IV nn. 1-2.</i>
				Aed. III, iv, 15	
				V.L., L.	
				CM Md-Nc	
Armeniakon (th.)				de Th.	
Ařna	Ĥřna		B.L. 146-147		<i>.See Ch. XII n. 25.</i>
Arnoy-otn			E.37, 117-viii/10		
			D-5		
Aros-přzan			E.37, 117-xi/5		
Arran	Řan				<i>.See Albania.</i>
Arresōn					<i>.See Arrestōn.</i>
Arrestōn	Arresōn	Rřtunik' ?		M.P. 393	<i>.See Ch. I p. 11.</i>
Arřamunik'	Ařmunik'		E.40, 116-iv/4		T. 212.
			G-4		<i>.See Ch. XI nn. 41, 43.</i>
Arřarunik'		Erasřajor	E.40, 116-iv/4		T. 202, 206, 207 n. 236, 210,
		Araxenōn pedion	G-4		324 n. 81.
			M.X. II, xc		<i>.See Ch. XI nn. 2, 2a.</i>
Arseaç-p'or	Aseaç-p'or		E.40, 118-xiv/8		
			B-4		
Artahan			E.40, 119-i/3		
			B-3		
Artanuĵ					<i>.See Křarjet'i.</i>
Artařřeank'	Artařřeank'	Artawanean	E.41, 117-vii/28		T. 232 n. 286.
			G-5		<i>.See Ch. XI nn. 63-64.</i>
Artařřeank'					<i>.See Artařřeank'.</i>
Artawanean					<i>.See Artařřeank'.</i>

PROVINCE	VARIANTS	EQUIVALENTS	REFERENCES		NOTES
			EASTERN	CLASSICAL	
Artaz	Ardozakan	Šawaršam	E.40, 117-viii/16 M.X. II, lii		T. 197. See Ch. XI n. 59.
Arwant'uni					.See Erwandunik'.
Arwastan	Arabastan	bēθ Arabaye Mygdonia	S.O.272		T. 179.
Arweniç jor			E.37-38, 117-v/4 G-5		
Arxanenē					.See Arzanenē.
Arzanenē	Arxanenē Arzenē	Aljn bēθ Arzōn Arabian March	S.O. 272	A.M. XXV, xix, 9 PP. xiv CM Pe	T. 129, 131-132, 149-150, 163, 165, 166 n. 63, 179-182, 183 n. 147, 197, 199, 236, 248, 304- 305, 468 n. 138. See Ch. II n. 25; IX n. 16.
Arzenē.					.See Arzanenē.
bēθ Arzōn	bēθ Ostan	Arzōn Ostan Arzn	S.O. 272		.See Arzanenē.
Arzōn Ostan					.See bēθ Arzōn.
Aseac p'or					.See Arseac p'or.
Asiana				N.D., N. VIII	
Ašmunik'					.See Aršamunik'.
Ašoçk'	Aboçi		E.36, 118-xv/4 B-5		T. 185-186, 187 n. 175, 190, 191 n. 199, 324 n. 81, 440 n. 16, 444-446, 468-474, 489, 499. See Ch. XI n. 4.
Asorestan		Assyria	E.38 D5-D6		See also Sopenē.
Aspakanuneac Jor					.See Aspakuneac Jor.
Aspakuneac Jor	Aspakanuneac Jor Aspakunik'		E.38, 116-iv/2 G-4		
Aspakunik'					.See Aspakuneac Jor.

PROVINCE	VARIANTS	EQUIVALENTS	REFERENCES		NOTES
			EASTERN	CLASSICAL	
Aspurakan . . . . .					.See Vaspurakan.
Assyria . . . . .					.See Asorestan.
Astaunitis				P. V, xii, 6	.See Asthianenē.
Asthianē . . . . .					.See Asthianenē.
Asthianenē	Astaunitis	Hašteank'		P. V, xii, 6	T. 131, 137-138 n. 240, 172 n. 95,
	Asthianē	Genç kazasi		C.J. I, 29, 5	241, 442 n. 22, 458 n. 93.
	Astianikēs	Çapakçur ?		N. XXXI	.See Ch. I n. 27; II pp. 32, 35-37.
				Aed. III, iii, 7	
				CM Oe	
Atropatena . . . . .					.See Atropatenē.
Atropatenē	Atropatena	Atrpatakan		S. XI, xii, 4	T. 75, 131, 163-164, 232 n. 187,
	Media Atropatenē	Azerbaijan		xiv, 3	459 n. 98.
					.See Ch. IX nn. 3, 8, 27.
Atrpatakan		Atropatenē	E.38, 114-115		
			D6-D8		
Atrpatunik' . . . . .					.See Trpatunik'.
Awazov aşxarh . . . . .					.See Abasgia.
Aygark'			E.35, 117-vi/6		
			D-5		
Ayli		Kuřičan	E.35, 117-vii/1		
			D-6		
Ayrarat	Ararat		E.35, 118-xv		T. 129, 132, 139, 148, 192, 197,
			B5-G6		199, 204-206, 215, 218, 220-222,
					230 n. 281, 322, 468.
A(yt)rwank' . . . . .					.See Aytwank'.
Aytwank'	A(yt)rwank'		E.35, 117-vi/5		
			D-5		
Azerbaijan . . . . .					.See Atropatenē.
Aznawajor . . . . .					.See Azwaç jor.

PROVINCE	VARIANTS	EQUIVALENTS	REFERENCES		NOTES
			EASTERN	CLASSICAL	
Aznawaç-jor	Aznawajor		E.31, 116-iii/7 G-5		
Azordaç-p'or	Kap'or		E.32, 118-xiv/8 B-4		
Bagan . . . . .					.See Bak'an.
bēθ Bagas			S.O. 272		.See Ch. IX n. 33.
Bagrauandenē		Bagrewand		P. V, xii, 9	T. 132, 137, 138 n. 240, 201-202, 209, 218, 241, 309, 324. .See Ch. XI nn. 2b, 20, 27, 27a.
Bagsen . . . . .					.See Basean.
Bagrawand . . . . .					.See Bagrewand.
Bagrewand	Bagrawand	Bagrauandenē	E.42, 118-xv/6 G-5		
Bak'an	Bagan Bak'ran	Marand	E.44, 117-viii/29 G-6		.See Ch. XI n. 64.
Bak'ran . . . . .					.See Bak'an.
Balabitenē	Balabitena Bilabetines	Balahovit Pasinler kazasi		C.J. I, 29, 5 N. XXXI Aed. III, i, 26 CM Ne G.C.	T. 131, 138 n. 240, 212, 241.
Balahovit	Balaḫovit	Belabitenē Palu kazasi ?	E.43, 116-ii/4 G-3		
Balan rot	Rot i Bala		E.43-44, 117-xi/4 G-8		
Balasakan		Gargaraçik' P'aytakaran Bazgun ? Kaspē ?	E.42-44, 114-115 B-7		.See Ch. IX n. 13; XIV n. 73, 76.

PROVINCE	VARIANTS	EQUIVALENTS	REFERENCES		NOTES
			EASTERN	CLASSICAL	
Balk'		Meli dašt	E.44, 117-ix/9 G-5		
Barjr Hayk'		Armenia Interior	E.37, 116-i G-2		
Basean	Basen Bagsen	Basianē Phasianē Pasinler kazasi	E.44, 118-xv/1		
Basen . . . . .					.See Basean.
Basianē		Basean Phasianē Pasinler kazasi		X. IV, vi, 5 CM Pd	T. 218-219, 219 n. 254, 496. .See Ch. XI nn. 2-3.
Basilisenē . . . . .					.See Orbalisenē.
Başkale kazasi . . . . .					.G. 78, 38°10'N × 44°10'E. .See Afbak Mec.
Basoropeda				S. XI, xiv, 5	
Bazgun . . . . .					.See Abasgia and Balasakan.
Bažunik' . . . . .					.See Bužunik'.
Beł . . . . .					.See Beχ.
Berdaç p'or			E.44-45, 118-xiv/2 B-5		
Berdajor . . . . .					.See Berjor.
Berjor	Berdajor		E.44, 117-x/3 B-7		
Beχ	Beł Biχ		E.44, 105, 120 B-7		
Bilabetines . . . . .					.See Balabitenē.
Bithynia				P. V, i N.D., V.L., L. CM D-Fc	

PROVINCE	VARIANTS	EQUIVALENTS	REFERENCES		NOTES
			EASTERN	CLASSICAL	
Bodunik'	Bogunik'		E.45, 117-viii/3		
	Budunik'		G-5		
Bogunik' . . . . .					.See Bodunik'.
Boĥno p'or			E.45, 119-iv/3		
			B-6		
Boĥa	Boĥa		E.45, 118-xiv, 5	P. V, xii, 4	T. 204, 230 n. 78, 451 n. 53,
	Buĥa		G-5		458 n. 93.
					.See Ch. I n. 42.
Boĥa				P. V, xii, 4	.See Boĥa
Budunik' . . . . .					.See Bodunik'.
Bulanəĥ . . . . .					.See Bulanik'.
Bulanik'	Bulanəĥ				.G. 109, 39°05'N × 42°05'E.
	Bulanyk				.See Hark'.
Bulanyk . . . . .					.See Bulanik'.
Buĥa . . . . .					.See Boĥa.
Bužunik'	Bažunik'	Norduz	E.45, 117-viii/9		.See Ch. XI p. 248; XII n. 31.
	Bžunik'		G-5		
Buzurg Armenan. . . . .					.See Armenia Maior.
Bzabde . . . . .					.See bēθ Zabdē.
Bznunik'			E.45, 116-iv/11		T. 209-210, 213, 216, 324 n. 82.
			G-5		.See Ch. XI n. 48.
Bžunik' . . . . .					.See Bužunik'.
Čahuk			E.64, 117-vi/10		
			D-5		
Čakatĥ'			E.64, 118-xv/11		.See Ch. XI n. 1.
			G-5		
Čakk'			E.64, 118-xiv/9		
			B-5		
Calarzene . . . . .					.See Katarzenē.

PROVINCE	VARIANTS	EQUIVALENTS	REFERENCES		NOTES
			EASTERN	CLASSICAL	
Çaldiran . . . . .					.See Ch. XI p. 237.
Çalkotn	Çalkunik'	Varažnunik' (1) Zachunuc	E.56, 118-xv/7 G-5		T. 309 n. 32, 315, 319. .See Ch. XI nn. 6, 19, 21, 23.
Çalkunik' . . . . .					.See Çalkotn.
Çamanenē				N.H. VI, 3	.See Çhamanenē.
Çanet'i . . . . .					.See Tzanika.
Çapakçur	Çaplıjur	Genç kazasi ?			.See Asthianenē
Çaplıjur			E.59		.See Asthianenē.
Cappadocia				P. V, vi; CM I-Me N. XXX	
Cappadocia I				N.D.	
				N. XXX	
Cappadocia II				N.D.	
				N. XXX	
Cappadocia (Greater)					.See Cappadocia Taurica.
Cappadocia Pontica	Cappadocia ad Pontem			S. XII, iii, 2	.See Ch. IV nn. 3-4.
Cappadocia Taurica	Greater Cappadocia			S. XII, iii, 12	
	Cappadocia ad Taurum			xii, 10-11	.See Ch. IV n. 6.
Caranitis				N.H. V, xx	.See Karenitis.
Caspiane . . . . .					.See Kaspianē.
Cataonia				N.H. XI, iii	.See Kataonia.
Çawdeayk'	Çawdēk'	Zabdikenē Tur Abdin	E.86 D-4		
Çawdēk' . . . . .					.See Çawdeayk'.
Çawdk' . . . . .					.Sōdk'.
Chaldia				St. Byz.	

PROVINCE	VARIANTS	EQUIVALENTS	REFERENCES		NOTES
			EASTERN	CLASSICAL	
Chamanenē	Camanenē	Haymana kazasi ?		P. V, vi, 11 S. XII, i, 4 N.H. V, xx CM Id	<i>See</i> Ch. IV nn. 3-4,8
Chera					<i>.See</i> Hēr.
Cholarzenē	Calarzene Katarzenē	Klarjet'i Artanuĭ		P. V, xii, 4	T. 142, 188 n. 188, 322 n. 76, 334-335, 382, 434, 442 n. 22, 24, 453 n. 62, 457 and nn. 89, 93, 461 and n. 109, 462-468, 471- 472, 474, 485-488, 491, 495-498.
Chordzianenē					<i>.See</i> Chorzanē.
Chorzanē	Chordzianē Chorzianē Korzenē Khordzen Orzianines	Xorjayn		S. XI, xiv, 4 Aed. III, iii, 7 CM Nd	T. 442 n. 22, 457 n. 93. <i>See</i> Ch. III n. 1; V n. 60.
Chorzianē					<i>.See</i> Chorzanē.
Cilicia					<i>.See</i> Kilikia.
Çlak					<i>.See</i> Çluk.
Çluk	Çlak		E.56, 117-ix/7 G-6		
Cobēnor			E.56, 119-v/1 B-6		
Çobep'or	Cop'op'or		E.56, 118-xiii/1 B-6		
Colchis	Kolk'isē			P. V, ix CM Pa	
Colopene					<i>.See</i> Kulupenē.
Colthene					<i>.See</i> Kolthenē.

PROVINCE	VARIANTS	EQUIVALENTS	REFERENCES		NOTES
			EASTERN	CLASSICAL	
Commagenē				N.H. VI, iii	<i>See</i> Kommagenē.
Cop'aç kolmn.					<i>See</i> Cop'k' Mec.
Cop'k'	Cop'k' Šahuni	Sophenē	E.57		
		Armenia IV	G3		
Cop'k' Mec	Cop'aç kolmn	Sophanenē	E.57, 116-ii		
			G3-G4		
Cop'k' Šahuni	Šahē	Sophenē	E.57, 116-ii/5		
	Šahunian Sophenē		G-3		
Cop'op'or					<i>See</i> Cobep'or.
Corduenē					<i>See</i> Korduenē.
Čorrord Hayk'		Armenia IV	E.57, 116-ii		
		Sophenē	G3-G4		
Čowaršeank'					<i>See</i> Čowarš-rot.
Čowaš-rot	Čowaršeank'		E.64, 117-viii/21		
	Čowarš rot		G-6		
	Čwašot				
Culupene				N.H. VI, iii	
Çχrasjmay			E.87, 119-iii/10		
			A-6		
Dalař		Elmali dere	E.48, 116-iv/8		<i>See</i> Ch. XI n. 53.
			G-5		
Dambvar					<i>See</i> Dmbawand.
Darachichak		Varažnunik'(1) ?			<i>See</i> Varažnunik' (1).
Daranalia (d.)	Daranalis	Daranalik'		CM Nd	
		Analibla		M. XI, 645.	T. 233 n. 291.
					<i>See</i> Ch. III nn. 1, 4a, 12d ; V n. 60.
Daranalik'		Daranalia	E.49, 116-I/1		
		Analibla	G-3		
Daranalis					<i>See</i> Daranalia.
Dařni					<i>See</i> Gařni.

PROVINCE	VARIANTS	EQUIVALENTS	REFERENCES		NOTES
			EASTERN	CLASSICAL	
bēθ Dasēn			S.O. 272		<i>See Dasn.</i>
Dasin					<i>See Dasn.</i>
Dasn	Dasin	bēθ Dasēn	E.49 D-5 S.O. 272		<i>See Ch. IX n. 33.</i>
Dasnawork'		Gastovor	E.49, 116-iv/6 G-4		<i>See Ch. XI n. 53.</i>
Dēgik'			E.49, 116-ii/7 G-3		
Derjan	Dersim	Derxenē	E.49, 116-i/6 G-4		<i>See Ch. III n. 1, 12a, 14; V n. 60.</i>
Dersim					<i>See Derjan.</i>
Derxenē	Derzenē Xerxenē	Tercan kazasi Derjan Tercan kazasi		S. XI, xiv, 5 N.H. V, xx CM Od N.H. V, xx	
Derzenē					<i>See Derxenē.</i>
Dilumn					<i>See Dīmunk'.</i>
Diospontus		Pontus Amasia Helenopontus Dilumn		L.	
Dīmunk'			E.115		
Dmbawand	Dambvar		E.115		
Dorek'					<i>See Gawrek'.</i>
Dwin ostan					<i>See Ostan Hayoç.</i>
Edaiab					<i>See Hedayab.</i>
Eger					<i>See Egr.</i>
Egeria					<i>See Egr.</i>
Egr	Egeria Eger	Adzharia	E.50 B-4		

PROVINCE	VARIANTS	EQUIVALENTS	REFERENCES		NOTES
			EASTERN	CLASSICAL	
Ekeleaç		Akilisenē Anahtakan Kozliçan ? Kozluk kazasi	E.50, 116-I/4 G-3		
Ekelenzines				M. IX, 391; XI, 613	.See Akilisenē.
Elbak . . . . .					.See Aİbak Mec.
Elmalı dere		Dalaî			G. 207, 39°25' × 40°35'.
Erasxajor . . . . .					.See Aršarunik'.
Erçek . . . . .					.See Arčişakovit.
Ērcoy	Ērcwoy		E.51, 119-vi/3 B-6		
Ērewoy . . . . .					.See Ērcoy.
Ēreštuni . . . . .					.See Rštunik'.
Erewark'			E.51, 116-iv/12 G-5		
Erit'unik' . . . . .					.See Erwandunik'.
Erkrord Hayk' . . . . .					.See Armenia II.
Ernjak			E.51, 117-ix/1 G-6		
Errord Hayk' . . . . .					.See Armenia III.
Erutak . . . . .					.See Rotak.
Erwandunik'	Arwant'uni Erit'unik'		E.51, 117-viii/13 G-5		
Erxet'k'	Xerhet'k'		E.51, 116-iii/8 G-5		
Ethnē . . . . .					.See Satrapiae.
Eufratesia . . . . .					.See Euphratensis.

PROVINCE	VARIANTS	EQUIVALENTS	REFERENCES		NOTES
			EASTERN	CLASSICAL	
Euphratensis	Arabia Euphratensis Eufratesia			N.D., N. VIII	
Ewtnp'orakean bagink'			E.51 G-8		
Encayeçi	Encayni Encaynoçk'				.See Anjaçi jor.
Encayni . . . . .					.See Anjaçi jor.
Encaynoçk' . . . . .					.See Anjaçi jor.
Enay . . . . .					.See Aina.
Foenices . . . . .					.See Phoenicia.
Gabeleank'		Kaızwan Kağizman kazasi	E.46, 118-xv/2 G-5		T. 220-221.
Gabit'ean . . . . .					.See Gawet'an.
Galatia				P. V, iv S. XII, v, 1 N.H. VI, iii N.D., N. VIII CM Fe-Ic N. VIII N.D.	
Galatia II					
Galatia Salutaris					
Gangark' . . . . .					.See Kangark'.
Gardman			E.46, 118, xii/6 B-6		T. 216, 258, 475-478, 480-484, 485 n. 211, 487 n. 224, 499.
Gargaraçik'	Karkar Gargaraçwoç dašt				.See Balasakan.
Garines . . . . .					.See Karenitis.
Gaŋni	Daŋni		E.46, 117-viii/7 G-5		.See Ch. XI n. 57.
Gaŋni Bazar . . . . .					.See Mazaz.

PROVINCE	VARIANTS	EQUIVALENTS	REFERENCES		NOTES
			EASTERN	CLASSICAL	
Garsauritis				P. V, vi, 13 S, XII, i, 4 N.H. VI, iii CM Ie	
Gastavor . . . . .					.See Dasnawork'.
Gawet'an	Gabit'ean		E.46, 117-viii/30 G-6		
Gawrēg . . . . .					.See Gawrēk'.
Gawrēk'	Gawrēg	Dorek'	E.41, 116-ii/8 G-3		
Gazrikan	Gazrikan		E.46, 117-viii/31 D-6		
Gazrikan					.See Gazrikan.
Gelak'unik'	Gelark'anunik'		E.47, 117-ix/4 B-6		
Gelan		Gilan	E.47 G-8		
Gelark'anunik'					.See Gelak'unik'.
Genç kazasi		Asthianenē Hasteank'			G. 234, 38°45'N × 40°35'E.
Gentes . . . . .					.See Satrapiae.
Georgia . . . . .					.See Iberia.
Gilan . . . . .					.See Gelan.
Gogarenē		Gugark' Iberian March Moschie March		S. XI, xiv, 4-5	T. 102 n. 158, 129, 131-133, 155 n. 14, 162 n. 40, 165, 177 n. 115, 183-192, 217, 236, 334, 432, 449, 452, 457-459, 459 n. 48, 467-474, 483, 487, 489, 495 n. 262, 499. Lang, Review, <i>Speculum</i> XLII, 1 (1967) pp. 194-196. .See Ch. XIV n. 76.

PROVINCE	VARIANTS	EQUIVALENTS	REFERENCES		NOTES
			EASTERN	CLASSICAL	
Gogovit . . . . .					.See Kogovit.
Gokan . . . . .					.See Gukan.
Golthenē . . . . .					.See Golt'n.
Golt'n		Golthenē	E.48, 117-viii/34 G-6		.See Ch. XI n. 65. Not to be confused with Koit in Arçax q.v.
Gordyenē		Korčēk'		P. V, xii, 9 S. XI, xiv, 3 XVI, 1, 24 CM Pf	T. 57 n. 54, 75, 102 n. 158, 129, 148, 166, 179, 181-182, 202, 468 n. 138.
Gorgovatisχ . . . . .					.See Gorot'is-χew.
Gorot'is-χew	Gorgovatisχ		E.48, 119-iii/1 A-5		
Greater Albak . . . . .					.See Albak Mec.
Greater Armenia . . . . .					.See Armenia Major.
Greater Cappadocia . . . . .					.See Cappadocia Taurica.
Greater Sophenē . . . . .					.See Sophanenē.
Grčunik' . . . . .					.See Krčunik'.
Gugank'	Gukan Gokan		E.48, 117-viii/25 G-5		.See Ch. XI n. 63.
Gugark'		Gogarenē	E.48, 118-xiii B5-B6		
Gukan. . . . .					.See Gugank'.
Gurzan			Z.M. 144		.See Iberia.
Gzel . . . . .					.See Gzelχ.
Gzelχ	Gzel		E.47, 116-iii/9 G-4		
Haband I			E.61-62, 117-ix/18 G-7		

PROVINCE	VARIANTS	EQUIVALENTS	REFERENCES		NOTES
			EASTERN	CLASSICAL	
Haband II					.See Miws Haband.
Haeretica					.See Hairetikē.
Hairetikē	Haeretica			P. V, vi, 18	
Hakkâri					G. 268, 37°35'N × 43°50'E.
Hânâzit					.See Anjit'.
Handsith					.See Anjit'.
Hani			E.62, 117-xi/6 G-8		
Hanjit'					.See Anjit'.
Hanzith					.See Anjit'.
Harčlank'	Harčlawnk'		E.62, 117-x/6 G-7		
Harčlawnk'					.See Harčlank'.
Hark'	Charka	Bulanik kazasi	E.62, 116-iv/9 G-5		.See Ch. XI n. 45, 52.
Hašteank'		Asthianenē	E.62, 116-ii/2		
		Genç kazasi	G-4		
Hawnunik'			E.62, 118-xv/4 G-5		T. 215 n. 246.
Haymana kazasi		Chamanenē ?			G. 283, 39°25'N × 32°35'E.
Hayoç jor			E.62 G-5		
Hedayab	Edaiab	Adiabēnē Nor Širakan Median March	E.49, 72		
Helenopontus		Diospontus Pontus Amasia		N.D. N. VIII, XXVIII CM Ac	

PROVINCE	VARIANTS	EQUIVALENTS	REFERENCES		NOTES
			EASTERN	CLASSICAL	
Hēr	Xar Xērakan dašt	Chera	E.63, 117-vii/9 G-6		Later fused with Zarewand into Rotak. <i>See also</i> Zarewand.
Honoriada	Honorias			L., N. VIII	
Honorias				N.D.	<i>See</i> Honoriada.
Hosdroenē					<i>See</i> Osrhoenē.
Iberia		Georgia Gurzan Varjan Virk'		P. V, x S. XI, iii	
Iberian March					<i>.See</i> Gogarenē.
Ingilenē	Angelenē	Angel tun		C.J. I, 29, 5 N. XXXI	T. 131, 137-138 n. 240, 166 n. 63, 167, 170-172, 175-177, 224, 241, 297-303, 324 n. 81. <i>See</i> Ch. II n. 25b.
Išayr			E.54, 117-v/1 G-6		
Išoç	Išoç		E.54, 117-v/3 D-5		
Ispir kazasi		Suspiritis			G. 318, 40°30'N × 41°00'E.
Jawaχēt'i					<i>.See</i> Jawaχk'.
Jawaχk'	Jawaχēt'i Jovaχk'		E.78, 119-i/4 B-5		
Jermaior			E.78, 117-v/8 D-5		
Jork'			E.64, 117-ix/10 G-7		
Jorop'or			E.63, 118-v/3 B-6		

PROVINCE	VARIANTS	EQUIVALENTS	REFERENCES		NOTES
			EASTERN	CLASSICAL	
Jowaxk'					.See Jawaxk'.
Justinianea					.See Armenia IV Altera.
Kadmē	Korduenē?	Adiabēnē?	E.86		T. 224-225 and n. 270, 233 and n. 289, 236. .See Ch. XIV n. 60.
Kağizman kazasi		Gabeleank'			G. 322, 40°10'N × 43°05'E.
Kaḷ	Keḷ		E.89, 116-iii/4 G-4		
Kalarjk'					.See Klarjet'i.
Kalarsōn					.See Klarjet'i.
Keḷ					.See Kaḷ.
Kalzwan					.See Gabeleank'.
Kamisenē				S. XII, iii, 37.	
Kangark'	Gangark' Kankark'		E.57-58, 118-xiii/6 B-6		
Kankark'					.See Kangark'.
Kapkoh k'ustak	K'apkoḷk'		E.114-115.		
Kap'or					.See Azeaç-p'or.
Karabağ'					.See Arçaç.
Karat'unik'					.See Kart'unik'.
Karayazi kazasi		Towarcatap'			G. 359, 39°55' × 42°05'.
Karenitis	Caranitis Garines	Karin		S. XI, xiv, 5 N.H. V, xx CM Pd	T. 193 nn. 207, 209, 233 n. 291, 458 n. 98. .See Ch. III nn. 1, 12a-b, 14; V n. 60.
Karin		Karenitis	E.58, 116-i/9 G-4		
Karkar					.See Gargaraçik'.
Kart'unik'	Karat'unik'	Saraponik'	E.58, 117-vi/9 D-6		

PROVINCE	VARIANTS	EQUIVALENTS	REFERENCES		NOTES
			EASTERN	CLASSICAL	
Kaspē . . . . .					.See Kaspianē.
Kaspianē	Kasp'ē	Kazbk'		S. XI, iv, 5	T. 129. 132, 148, 232 n. 287.
	Caspiane	P'aytakaran		xiv, 5	
Kataonia	Cataonia			P. V, vi, 22	
				S. XI, xii, 2	
				XII, i, 4; ii, 2-6	
				N.H. VI, iii	
				CM Ke	
Katarzenē	Cholarzenē	Klarjet'i		P. V, 12, 4	
	Calarzene			CM Pe	
Kazbk'	Kasp'ē	Kaspianē	E.57		
		P'aytakaran	B-8		
Kelesenē				Pers. I, xvii, 11	.See Akilisenē.
Kēt'ik'			E.59, 116-iii/5		
			G-5		
Khandchoot . . . . .					.See Anjit'.
Khordzen . . . . .					.See Xorjayn.
Kiği kazasi		Xorjayn			G. 386, 39°20'N × 40°30'E.
Kilikia	Cilicia			P. V, vii	
				CM I - Jg	
Kilikia (I)				N. VIII	
Kilikia (II)				N. VIII	
Klarjet'i	Kalarjk'	Cholarzenē	E.59, 118-xiii/9		T. 142, 188 n. 188, 322 n. 76,
	Klarjk'	Katarzenē			334-335, 382, 439, 442 nn. 22,
	Kalarčk'	Artanuĭ			24, 452, 453 n. 62, 457 nn. 89,
					93, 461 and n. 109, 462-468,
					471-472, 474, 485-488, 491, 495-
					498.

PROVINCE	VARIANTS	EQUIVALENTS	REFERENCES		NOTES
			EASTERN	CLASSICAL	
Koçhisar		Morimenē ?			G. 411 (7) 39°52' × 37°24'. <i>See</i> Ch. IV p. 58, <i>also</i> Cities.
Kogovit	Gogovit		E.59, 118-xv/13 G-5		T. 200, 202, 309, 321-322 and n. 77, 342-343, 398. <i>See</i> Ch. XI, nn. 24-25.
Koł	Kola		E.59, 118-xiv/1 B-5		T. 457.
Kołbop'or			E.60, 118-xiii/2 B-6		
Kołk'isē					<i>See</i> Colchis.
Kołt'	Koχt	Kolthenē ?	E.60, 117-x/12 B-7		T. 259. Not to be confused with Gołtn in Vaspurakan.
Kolthenē	Colthene	Gołtn ? Kołt ?		P. V, xii, 4	T. 105 n. 160, 203, 204 n. 230, 323, 451 n. 2.
Kommagenē	Commagene			P. V, xiv, 8 S. XI, xii, 2 N.H. VI, iii CM L - Mf D.A. I.	<i>See</i> Ch. XI nn. 28, 52.
Kor	Korē				<i>See</i> Kor.
Korē					<i>See</i> Korčēk'.
Korčayk'					
Korčēk'	Korčayk'	Gordyenē	E.60, 117-vi D-5		
Kordē					<i>See</i> Korduenē.
Kordrik'					<i>See</i> Tmorik'.
Korduenē	Corduene	Korduk'		A.M. XXV, xix, 9	T. 131, 180-182 and nn. 140, 142, 144, 146.
	Kordē	bēθ Qardū		P.P. xiv	

PROVINCE	VARIANTS	EQUIVALENTS	REFERENCES		NOTES
			EASTERN	CLASSICAL	
Korduk'		Korduenē bēθ Qardū	E.60, 117-vi/1 D-5		
Korzenē . . . . .					. See Chorzanē.
Košakan . . . . .					. See Kovšakan.
Kotayk'	Kotēk Kōtaia	Zangi bazar ?	E.60, 118-xv/6 B-6		. See Ch. XI p. 238.
Kotēk . . . . .					. See Kotayk'.
Kovšakan	Košakan Kušakan		E.60, 117-ix/12 G-7		
Koxt' . . . . .					. See Koht'.
Kozličan	Kuzichan	Akilisenē ? Kozluk kazasi ? Akilisenē ?			. See Ch. III p. 47. G. 428, 38°12'N × 41°29'E. . See Ch. XI n. 62.
Kozluk kazasi					
Krčunik'	Krkčunik' Grčunik' Rotkrčunik'		E.61, 117-viii/22 G-6		
Krkčunik'. . . . .					. See Krčunik'.
Kušanovit			E.61, 117-viii/5		
Kulupenē	Colopene Culupene			S. XII, iii, 37 N.H. VI, iii CM Kd	. See Ch. III n. 20.
Kuričan . . . . .					. See Ayli.
Kušakan . . . . .					. See Kovšakan.
K'ust-i-p'arenk'	K'usti P'arnes		E.88, 90, 117-x/10 B-6		NB Eremyan's division into two districts.
K'usti P'arnes . . . . .					. See K'ust-i-p'arenk'.
Kuzichan . . . . .					. See Kozličan.

PROVINCE	VARIANTS	EQUIVALENTS	REFERENCES		NOTES
			EASTERN	CLASSICAL	
Lauiansenē				P. V, vi, 24 S. XII, i, 4; ii, 10; iii, 37 CM Ld	
Lazika				P. V, ix, 4 Goth. IV, ii, 3 G.C. CM Pb	T. 255-257, 363-364, 365 n. 32, 388, 405 n. 52.
Lesser Albak . . . . .					.See Albak P'ok'r.
Lesser Armenia . . . . .					.See Armenia Minor.
Lesser Siwnik' . . . . .					.See Sisakan-i-Kotak
Lesser Sopenē . . . . .					.See Sopenē.
Lower Sopenē . . . . .					.See Sopenenē.
Lykaonia	Lycaonia			P. V, vi, 15 N. VIII, XXV CM Ge - Hf	
Machurtōn . . . . .					.See Mahkert tun.
Mahkert tun	Machurtōn	al-Māḥardān bēθ Mahqart Revanduz	E.64, 118 D-6 S.O. 272 S.O. 272		T. 165, 166 nn. 58, 59, 218, 459 n. 98. .See Ch. IX n. 33. .See Mahkert tun.
bēθ Mahqart					G. 455, 38°25'N × 38°20'E.
Malatya kazasi		Melitenē			.See Mananali.
Manali . . . . .					.See Mananali.
Mananali	Manali		E.64-65, 116-i/5 G-4		.See III n. 1; 16; V n. 60.
Manralik'		Manraloi	E.65 A-5		
Manraloi		Manralik'		P. V, ix, 4	
Maperkiton . . . . .					.See Mareptikon.

PROVINCE	VARIANTS	EQUIVALENTS	REFERENCES		NOTES
			EASTERN	CLASSICAL	
Maraç amur ašxarh			E.65, 69, 115, 118 Agat'. cxx		
Mardalik'			E.65, 116-iv/5 G-4		See Ch. III n. 1.
Mardastan	Mardoçk' Marduçayk'		E.65, 117-viii/15 G-6		
Mardoçk' . . . . .					.See Mardastan.
Mardpetakan		Mareptikon ? Sephakan ?			T. 131, 139, 169 and n. 81, 170 n. 85, 200, 231 n. 285. See Ch. I p. 11.
Marduçayk' . . . . .					.See Mardastan.
Mareptikon	Maperkiton	Mardpetakan ?		M.P. M. VII	See Ch. I p. 11.
Mari			E.65, 117-vii/2 D-6		
Mark' . . . . .					.See Media.
Maseaç otn			E.65, 118-xv/12 G-6		
Mazaz		Garñi bazar ?	E.64, 118-xv/17 B-6		See Ch. XI p. 238.
Mec Ałank' . . . . .					.See Mecirank'.
Mec Ałbak . . . . .					.See Ałbak Mec.
Mec Hayk'		Armenia Maior	E.66-70		
Mec Kwank'	Mec Kwenk'		E.66, 117-x/5 B-7		
Mecirank'	Mec Ałank'		E.66, 117-x/4 B-7		
Mecnunik'			E.70, 117-viii/23 G-5		

PROVINCE	VARIANTS	EQUIVALENTS	REFERENCES		NOTES
			EASTERN	CLASSICAL	
Media	Mark'			P. V, xii, 1 S. XI, xiii	
Media Atropatenē	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	.See Atropatenē.
Median March	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	.See Adiabēnē.
Mehnunik'	Mehenunik'		B.L. 146-147		T. 232 n. 286.
Meli dašt	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	.See Balasakan.
Melitenē	Melitrine	Malatya kazasi		P. V, xii, 21 S. XII, i, 4 ii, 1 N.H. VI, iii ad L. CM Le H.S., G.C.	.See Melitenē.
Melitrine				N.D., N. VIII CM Mg-Ph	
Mesopotamia		Mijaget			.See Armenia IV.
Mesopotamia Upper	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .
Mija		Vijac	E.70, 117-v/5 D-5		
Mijaget	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	.See Mesopotamia.
Miws Haband		Sisakan i Kotak	E.70, 117		
Mokk'		Moxoenē bēθ Moksāyē	E.71, 116-i/5 G5-D-5		
Mokk' Aranjnak		Ark'ayıç	E.41, 71, 117-v/6 G-5		
bēθ Moksāyē			S.O. 272		.See Mokk'.
Morimenē	Murimenē	Koçhisar ?		S. XII, i, 4 v, 4 N.H. VI, iii CM Ie	.See Ch. IV p. 58.

PROVINCE	VARIANTS	EQUIVALENTS	REFERENCES		NOTES
			EASTERN	CLASSICAL	
Moschie March					.See Gogarenē.
Mot'olank'	Ot'olank'		E.71, 117-vi/7 D-6		
Moxoenē		Mokk' bēθ Moksāyē	S.O. 272	A.M. XXV, xix, 9 CM Ee	T. 129, 148, 166 n. 63, 180, 181 n. 140, 197 n. 222, 200, 202, 468 n. 138.
Mrit			E.71, 119 B-4		
Mrul			E.71, 119 B-4		
Mughan					.See Muḫank'.
Mukan					.See Muḫank'.
Munzur					.See Muzur.
Murimenē					.See Morimenē.
Muḫank'	Mukan Muḫank'	Mughan	E.71, 117-x/7 G-7		
Muzur	Menjur Mzur Munzur	Muzurōn	E.71, 116-i/3 G-3		
Muzurōn		Muzur		G.C.	
Muḫank'					.See Muḫank'.
Mygdonia					.See Arwastan.
Mzur					.See Muzur.
Nig		Aparan	E.72, 118-xv/15 G-6		T. 198, 205-205, 207.
Nigal			E.72, 110, 119 B-4		
Nihorakan					.See Niḫorakan.

PROVINCE	VARIANTS	EQUIVALENTS	REFERENCES		NOTES
			EASTERN	CLASSICAL	
Niḫorakan	Nihorakan	Daḫerrakān deh Naḫirakān	E.72, 118 D5-D6		T. 165. <i>See</i> Ch. IX pp. 175-178.
bēθ Nōhādrā	Nohadra Notartay		S.O., 272		<i>See</i> Ch. IX nn. 33, 35.
Norduz		Anjewaçik' Buzunik'			G. 489, 37°51'N × 43°32'E. <i>See</i> Ch. XI p. 248.
Nor Širakan	Noširakan Širakan	Adiabēnē Median march	E.27, 49, 52, 59, 64, 67, 72, 77		<i>See</i> Ch. IX pp. 172-173, 175-178.
Noširakan					<i>See</i> Nor Širakan.
Notartay					<i>See</i> bēθ Nōhādrā.
Ok'alē	Ok'alā		E.76, 118-xiv/6 B-4		
Orbalisenē	Basilisenē			P. V, vi, 18	T. 54 n. 49, 451 n. 53. <i>See</i> Ch. III n. 25.
Orbisenē				P. V, vi, 18	»
Orisank'					<i>See</i> Orsirank'.
Ormizd Perož	Ormzdperož		E.75, 117-xi/9 G-7		
Ormzdperož					<i>See</i> Ormizd Perož.
Orsenē				P. V, vi, 18	<i>See</i> Ch. III n. 25.
Orsirank'	Orisank'		E.75, 117-vi/8 D-6		
Orzianines				G.C.	<i>See</i> Chorzanē.
Osrhoenē	Osroenē Hosdroenē			N.D., N. VIII CM Mf	<i>See</i> Ch. III n. 25.
Osroenē					<i>See</i> Osrhoenē.
Ossetia					<i>See</i> Alania.
bēθ Ostan					<i>See</i> bēθ Arzōn.
Ostan Hayoç		Dwin Ostan	E.49, 74, 116-xv/19 B6-G6		<i>See</i> Ch. XII n. 30.

PROVINCE	VARIANTS	EQUIVALENTS	REFERENCES		NOTES
			EASTERN	CLASSICAL	
Otenē		Utik'		P. V, xii, 4	T. 129, 132, 148, 220, 259, 467, 482.
Other Armenia					.See Armenia Altera.
Ot'olank'					.See Mot'olank'.
Oves					.See Açwerk.
Packank'	Panckank'		E.77, 117-x/9		
	Parsakank'		G-7		
Paflagonia					.See Paphlagonia.
Palanakan tun					.See Palnatun.
Palankatun					.See Palnatun.
Palestina I				N. VIII	
Palestina II				N. VIII	
Palestina III				N. VIII	
Palestina Salutaris				N.D.	
Palinatun					.See Palnatun.
Palines		Palnatun		G.C.	T. 212 n. 240.
Palnatun	Palankatun	Palines	E.76-77, 116-ii/3		.See Ch. III n. 1.
	Palanakan tun		G-3		
	Palinatun				
Palu kazasi		Balahovit ?			G. 505, 38°40' × 39°55'E.
		Palunik'			
Palun					.See Palunik'.
Palunik'	Palun	Palu kazasi ?	E.76 (1), 117-viii/24		T. 212.
			G-5		
Panckank'					.See Packank'.
Paphlagonia	Paflagonia			N.D., N. XXIX	
				V.L., L.	
				CM Gb-Jb	
P'ainēs					.See K'ust i p'arenk'.
Parsakank'					.See Packank'.

PROVINCE	VARIANTS	EQUIVALENTS	REFERENCES		NOTES
			EASTERN	CLASSICAL	
Parskahayk'		Persarmenia	E.77, 117-vii G6-D6		T. 129, 148, 152, 164 n. 48, 197.
Parspatunik'	Parspunik' Patsparunik' Pasparunik'		E.77, 117-viii/26 G-7		<i>See</i> Ch. XI n. 64.
Parspunik'					<i>See</i> Parsparunik'.
Partizaç p'or			E.77, 118-xiv/3 B-5		
Parwar			E.77, 119-iv/4		
Pasinler kazasi	Pasen	Basean Basianē			G. 507, 40°00'N H 41°40'E.
Pasparunik'					<i>See</i> Parsparunik'.
Patakaranēs					<i>See</i> P'aytakaran.
Patsparunik'					<i>See</i> Parspatunik'.
P'aytakaran	Patakaranēs	Kaspē Kazbk' Bałasakan	E.88, 117-xi G7-G8		
Pentarchy.					<i>See</i> Satrapiae.
Persarmenia					<i>See</i> Parskahayk'.
Pharangion				Pers. II, xxix, 4	<i>See</i> Suspiritis.
Phasianē				X. IV, vi, 5	<i>See</i> Basianē.
Phauenē					<i>See</i> Phaunitis.
Phaunitis	Phauenē	Saunitis		S. XI, xiv, 4	
Phoenicia	Foenices			N.D.	
Phrygia				P. V, ii, 17 CM Df-Fd	T. 53 n. 49.

PROVINCE	VARIANTS	EQUIVALENTS	REFERENCES		NOTES
			EASTERN	CLASSICAL	
Phrygia Pacatiana				N. VIII P. V, iv, 9; v, 7 N. VIII	
Phrygia Salutaris					
Piank'			E.77, 117-x/8 B-7		
Pisidia				N. VIII, XXIX CM E-Ff	
P'ok'r Hayk'		Armenia Minor	E.88-89 G2-B3		
Pontica (d.)				N.D.	
Pontus				P. V, i S. XII, iii, 1-2, 10-19 CM Jc-Pb	
Pontus Amasia		Diospontus		S. XII, iii, 38	
		Helenopontus		L.	
Pontus Cappadocius				P. V, vi, 5, 8 xii, 2 CM Mc	T. 450 n. 53.
Pontus Galaticus				P. V, vi, 3, 8 CM Jc	
Pontus Polemoniacus				P. V, vi, 4, 8 N.D., V.L., L. C.J. I, 29, 5 CM Kc	
bēθ Qardū			S.O. 272		<i>See</i> Korduenē.
bēθ Rahimai					<i>See</i> bēθ Rehimē.
Ramōnin (d.)			S.O. 272		<i>See</i> Ch. IX n. 33.
Řan					<i>See</i> Albania.
Rē					<i>See</i> Arē.

PROVINCE	VARIANTS	EQUIVALENTS	REFERENCES		NOTES
			EASTERN	CLASSICAL	
bēθ Rehimē	bēθ Rahimai	Rehimenē	S.O. 272		
Rehimenē	Rehimena	bēθ Rehimē		A.M., XXV, xix, 9	T. 180, 182 n. 147.
Revanduz . . . . .					.See Mahkert tun.
Ėostak . . . . .					.See Rotak.
Ėotak	Ėostak		E.63		See Ch. XII nn. 27, 28.
	Erutak				See also Zarewand and Her.
Ėot-i-Bala					.See Balan-rot.
Ėotkrēunik [†]See Krēunik [†] .
Ėot-Parçean	Ėot-Paçean		E.79, 118-xii/3		
			B-7		
Ėot-Paçean . . . . .					.See Ėot Paçean.
Ėštunik [†]	Ereštuni	Arrestōn ?	E.79, 117-viii/1		T. 213 n. 242.
			G-5		
Ėwan	Ėwel		E.114-115		
Ėwel . . . . .					.See Ėwan.
Sacasena . . . . .					.See Sakasenē.
Sahařunik [†]					T. 214 and n. 243.
					See Ch. XI p. 241.
Šahē . . . . .					.See Sophenē.
Šahib as-Serir . . . . .					.See Albania.
Šahunian Sophenē . . . . .					.See Sophenē.
Šakašēn	Šikašēn	Sakasenē	E.73, 118-xii/7		
			B6-B7		
Sakasenē	Sacasena	Šakašēn		P. V, xii, 4	T. 220, 467 n. 128, 482 and
				S. XI, xiv, 4	n. 199.
Šalağomk [†]	Šatgom		E.73, 116-i/8		See Ch. III n. 1.
	Šağamk [†]		B-4		
Salajor . . . . .					.See Salnoy-jor.
Šağamk [†]See Šalağomk [†] .

PROVINCE	VARIANTS	EQUIVALENTS	REFERENCES		NOTES
			EASTERN	CLASSICAL	
Salnoy-jor	Salajor		E.79, 116-iii/10		
	Sanojor		G-4		
Sanasunitai		Sasun			T. 210.
Sanasunk'					.See Sasun.
Šančan			E.73, 115		
			D-8		
Sanojor					.See Salnoy jor.
Saraponik'					.See Kart'unik'.
Sarauenē				S. XI, i, 4	
				CM Jd	
Sargaurasenē				P. V, vi, 12	
				S. XI, i, 4	
				ii, 6	
				CM Ke	
Šarur dašt			E.73, 118-xv/20		
			G-6		
Saspeiros					.See Suspiritis.
Sasun	Sanasunk'	Sanasunitai	E. 79, 116-iii/11		
			G-4		
Šatgom					.See Šala gomk'.
Satrapiae		Armenia Altera		C.J., I, 29, 5	T. 131-135, 137, 138 n. 240,
		Ethnē		N. XXXI	170-175, 197.
		Gentes		Aed. III, iv, 17	.See Ch. II; V n. 66.
		Pentarchy			
Saunitis					.See Phaunitis.
Šawaršakan					.See Šawaršam.
Šawaršam	Šawaršakan	Artaz ?	M.X. II, lxii		.See Ch. XI n. 59.
Sawdk'					.See Sōdk'.
Šawšedk'					.See Šawšēt'.

PROVINCE	VARIANTS	EQUIVALENTS	REFERENCES		NOTES
			EASTERN	CLASSICAL	
Šawšēt'	Šawšedk'		E.73, 119-i/2 B-5		
Sephakan		Mardpetakan? Vaspurakan			<i>See</i> Ch. IX n. 38; XI nn. 66, 66a.
Sepuhrahan					<i>See</i> Vaspurakan.
Šikašēn					<i>See</i> Šakašēn.
Širak		Sirakenē Süregel	E.73-74, 118-xv/8 B-5		
Širakan					<i>See</i> Nor Širakan.
Sirakenē		Širak Süregel		P. V, xii, 4	T. 202, 206 <i>See</i> Ch. XI nn. 2c-d, 3.
Sisagan					<i>See</i> Siwnik'.
Sisaĵan					<i>See</i> Siwnik'.
Sisakan			Z.M. 144		<i>See</i> Siwnik'.
Sisakan i Kotak	Sisakan Ostan	Lesser Siwnik' Miws Haband	E.70, 117		
Siwnik'	Sisakan Sisaĵan	Sunitai	E.81, 117-ix B6-G7		T. 129, 131-132, 137, 148, 214 n. 244, 241, 323, 332. <i>See</i> Ch. IX nn. 13b, 14-15, XIV n. 72.
Sōdk'	Cawdk' Sawdk' Zawdk' Sot'k'	Sodukenē Arçaḡ	E.80 B-6		<i>See</i> Ch. X pp. 194, 199, 230. Not to be confused with Cawdēk' q.v.
Sodukenē		Sōdk'		P. V, xii, 4	T. 182 n. 146.
Sōf					<i>See</i> Sophenē.
Sōphan-āyē					<i>See</i> Sophanenē.

PROVINCE	VARIANTS	EQUIVALENTS	REFERENCES		NOTES
			EASTERN	CLASSICAL	
Sophanenē	Tzophanenē	Copaç kolmn Cop'k' Mec Greater Sopenē Lower Sopenē Sōphan-āyē Supani		C.Th. XX, xviii C.J. I, 29, 5 N. XXXI Aed. III, ii, 2 iii, 1	T. 131, 137-138, n. 240, 139, 166 n. 63, 167-168, 170-171, 173 n. 103, 174, 175, 179, 237 n. 306, 241, 304. <i>See</i> Ch. II nn. 20a, 21-23b.
Sopenē	Tzophane	Cop'k' Šahunī Lesser Sopenē Upper Sopenē Šahunian Sopenē Šahē Sōf Sūph Syrian March		P. V, xii, 6 S. XI, xii, 3-4 xiv, 2 XII, ii, 1 C.J. I, 29, 5 N. XXXI de B. i CM Ne	T. 131, 137-138 n. 240, 166-167 and n. 63, 170 n. 88, 235 n. 306, 241, 285-287, 298, 304-305. <i>See</i> Ch. II nn. 20a, 21-24. Used both as a restrictive and a general toponym. <i>See</i> also Asorestan.
Šoragyal					<i>.See</i> Süregel.
Sot'k'					<i>.See</i> Sōdk'.
Spandaran-Perož			E.81, 117-xi/8 G7-G8		
Sper		Suspiritis Pharangion Ispir kazasi Siwnik'	E.81, 116-i/7 B-4		
Sunitai				Pers. I, xv, 1	
Supani					<i>.See</i> Sophanenē.
Sūph					<i>.See</i> Sopenē.
Süregel	Šoragyal	Širak			G. 578, 40°45'N × 43°36'E.
Suspiritis	Hesperites Saspeiros	Sper Pharangion		H. X. VII, viii, 25	T. 131, 137-138 n. 240, 202, 233 n. 291, 241, 315, 321-322

PROVINCE	VARIANTS	EQUIVALENTS	EASTERN	REFERENCES	CLASSICAL	NOTES
		Ispir kazasi		S. XI, xiv, 9 Pers. II, xxix, 4 CM Oc.		n. 76, 323 n. 77, 81, 326, 342, 455 n. 73, 456 n. 77, 464 n. 117, 466 n. 123, 467 n. 126. <i>See</i> Ch. I n. 43; III n. 12a.
Syria I				N. XX		
Syria II				N. VIII		
Syria, Coele				N.D.		
Syria Salutaris				N.D.		
Syrian March						<i>.See</i> Sophenē.
Tamberk'	Tambēt'		E.84, 117-vii/6 D-6			
Tambēt'						<i>.See</i> Tamberk'.
Tamoritis		Tmorik' Kordrik'				T. 200, 202, 322, 323 n. 78.
Tankriayn						<i>.See</i> Taygrean.
Tanuterakan tun						<i>See</i> Ch. IX pp. 180-182.
Tao		Tayk'				<i>See</i> Tayk'.
Taparastan						<i>.See</i> Taprēstan.
T'ar						<i>.See</i> T'awr.
Taprēstan	Taparastan		E.114-115.			
Taraunitis		Tarawn		Pers. II, xxv, 35 CM Pe		T. 132, 202, 209-210, 212, 215, 218, 314, 324 n. 81, 351. <i>See</i> Ch. XI nn. 29-30, 34.
Tarawn	Tarōn	Taraunitis	E.85, 116-iv/3 G-4			
Tarōn						<i>.See</i> Tarawn.
Taruberan	Tawruberan Turuberan		E.85, 116-iv G4-G5			T. 129, 132, 148, 199, 205 n. 234, 209, 212, 312. <i>See</i> Ch. XI n. 30.

PROVINCE	VARIANTS	EQUIVALENTS	REFERENCES		NOTES
			EASTERN	CLASSICAL	
Tašir			E.85, 119-v/4 B-6		
Tatik			E.85, 116-iii/6 G-5		
T'awr	T'ar T'or		E.53, 119-ii/3 B-5		
Tawruberan					.See Taruberan.
Taxtin	Takhtin	Kars ?			.See Ch. XI n. 3b.
Taygrean	Tankriayn Tagrean		E.84, 117-viii/31 G-6		
Tayk'		Tao	E.84, 117-xiv B4-B5		T. 129, 131-132, 148, 202, 204-205, 209-210, 211 n. 238, 231 n. 285, 324 n. 81, 439-445, 450, 452-457, 460 n. 98, 467, 470, 485-486, 491-498. See Ch. III n. 24a; XI n. 31. G. 595, 39°45'N × 40°25'E.
Tercan kazasi		Derxenē Derjan			
Thospitis		Tosp		P. V, xii, 8 N.D.	
Thracia (d.)					
T'ianet'			E.53, 119-vi/4 A-6		
Tmorik'		Tamoritis Kordrik'	E.86 D-5		
T'onrawan					.See T'ornawan.
T'or					.See T'awr.

		REFERENCES			
PROVINCE	VARIANTS	EQUIVALENTS	EASTERN	CLASSICAL	NOTES
T'ornawan	Tonrawan		E.53, 117-viii/19 G5-G6		
Tosp	Tosb	Thospitis	E.86, 117-viii/2 G-5		
Towarcatap'		Karayazi kazasi	E.86, 116-iv/7 G4-G5		See Ch. XI n. 53.
T'rabi	T'rap'i		E.54, 117-vii/3 D-6		
T'rap'i. . . . .					.See T'rabi.
T'relk'		T'rialēt'i	E.54, 119-v/6 B5-B6		
T'ri			E.86, 118-xii/2 B-7		
T'rialēt'i . . . . .					.See T'relk'.
Trpatunik'	Atrpatunik'		E.86, 117-viii/12 D-5		T. 221, 235 n. 301.
Trunik'					See Ch. XI n. 75.
Tučk'atak. . . . .					.See Tus K'ustak.
Tur Abdin	Turapdin	Cawdeayk' Zabdikenē	E.86 D-4		
Turuberan . . . . .					.See Taruberan.
Tus K'ustak	Tučk'atak		E.86, 118-xii/5 B-6		
Tyanitis				P. V, vi, 17 S. XII, i, 4 ii, 7	
Tzanika		Čanet'i		Goth. IV, iii, 3 Aed. III, vi, 1, 18 N. XXXI	T. 255. 458-460 n. 98.
Tzophenē					See Sophenē.

PROVINCE	VARIANTS	EQUIVALENTS	REFERENCES		NOTES
			EASTERN	CLASSICAL	
Tzophanenē				N. XXXI	<i>See</i> Sophanenē.
Upper Sophenē					<i>See</i> Sophenē.
Urc	Urcajor		E.76, 118-xv/21 G-6		T. 222. <i>See</i> Ch. XI n. 4d.
Urcajor					<i>See</i> Urc.
Utik'	Utia	Otenē	E.75-76, 118-xii B6-B7		
Vakunik'					<i>See</i> Vaykunik'.
Vanand		Upper Basean	E.82, 118-xv/9 B-5		T. 215. <i>See</i> Ch. XI n. 2a.
Varažnunik' (1)		Darachichak ? Calkunik'	E.82 (1) 118-xv/18 B-6		T. 222. <i>See</i> Ch. XI nn. 54, 76.
Varažnunik' (2)	Važnunik'		E.82 (3) 116-ii/10 G-4		<i>See</i> Ch. XI n. 54.
Varažnunik' (3)	Važnunik' Vižanunik'		E.82 (2) 117-viii/33 B-6		<i>See</i> Ch. XI n. 76.
Varjan.					<i>See</i> Iberia.
Vaspurakan	Aspurakan	Sepuhrakan	E.82, 117-viii G5-G6		T. 129, 131-132, 148, 197, 200, 202-206, 212, 215, 220-222, 323 nn. 78, 81, 331-332, 381. <i>See</i> Ch. IX n. 38; XI nn. 66, 66a.
Vayç					<i>See</i> Vayoc jor.
Vaykunik'	Vakunik'		E.82, 117-x/2 B-7		
Vayoc jor	Vayç		E.82, 117-ix/3 G-6		
Važnunik'					<i>See</i> Varažnunik' (2, 3).
Vijac					<i>See</i> Mija.
Virk'	Veria Varjan	Iberia	E. 104, 119 B5-B6		

		REFERENCES			
PROVINCE	VARIANTS	EQUIVALENTS	EASTERN	CLASSICAL	NOTES
Vižanunik'					.See Varažnunik' (3) and Ch. XI n. 76.
Xançixē	Xaniçx		E.55, 119-iv/5 B-6		
Xaniçx					.See Xançixē.
Xar					.Hēr.
Xerhet'k'					.Erxet'k'.
Xerk			E.55, 119-vi/2 B-6		
Xōrasān k'ustak	Khorrasan		E.114		
Xorjajn	Xorjean	Chorzanē			
	Xorjēn	Kiği kazasi	E.55, 116-ii/1		
	Khordzen		G-4		
Xorjean					.See Xorjajn.
Xorjēn					.See Xorjajn.
Xorwaran k'ustak			E.114-115		
Xorxorunik'		Bulanik ?	E.55, 116-iv/16 G-5		T. 208-209.
Xoyt'			E.55, 116-iv/1 G-5		T. 312. See Ch. XI n. 44.
Xerxenē				S. XI, xiv, 5	.See Derxenē.
bēθ Zabdē	Bzabdē		S.O. 272		.See Zabdikenē.
Zabdianē				A.M., XXV, xix, 9	.See Zabdikenē.
Zabdikenē	Zabdianē	bēθ Zabdē Cawdeayk' Tur Abdin		A.M. XXV, xix, 9 P. P, xiv	T. 131, 166 n. 63, 180, 182 n. 146.
Zachunuc					.See Całkotn.
Zangi bazar		Kotayk' ?			.See Ch. XI p. 238.

PROVINCE	VARIANTS	EQUIVALENTS	REFERENCES		NOTES
			EASTERN	CLASSICAL	
Zarawand	Zarewand		E.51, 117-vii/8 G-6		T. 305 n. 119. Later fused with Her into Rotak q.v.
Zarēhawan			E.52, 117-vii/7 G-6		T. 293, 305 n. 119, 310 n. 32.
Zarewand . . . . .					.See Zarawand.
Zawdk' . . . . .					.See Sōdk'.

B. CITIES - TOWNS - VILLAGES

The following abbreviations were used in this section in addition to those previously given :

- I.A. *Itinerarium Antonini*
T.P. *Tabula Peutingeriana*
M. Miller, C., *Itineraria Romana* (Stuttgart, 1916).

LOCALITY	VARIANTS	EQUIVALENTS	REFERENCES	MAPS	NOTES
Abaxa	Auaxa Auasa	Awaz	N.D.		See Ch. V n. 15a.
Adamakert					See Hadamakert.
Aeliana		Arna ?	N.D.		
Afision					See Fis.
Afşin		Yarpuz Arabissos ? Uarsapa ?	G. 7 38°15' × 36°55'	U. 341 B IV	
Afumōn		Fum ?			See Ch. I nn. 17, 17a, 19a.
Ağil					See Eğil.
Akbās	Aqbā Okbas	Anōšarvān-Kala ?			See Ch. I nn. 14-16a.
Akçan		Olakan	G. 16 (2) 38°53' × 41°34'	U. 340 A III	T. 209.
Akn					See Egin.
Alacahan	Alajaḡan Aladja Han	Aranis	G. 26 39°02' × 37°37'	E. G-2	
Aladarariza					See Olotoedariza.
Aladja Han					See Alacahan.
Alajaḡan					See Alacahan.
Alaleisos					See Ch. I n. 21a.
Alhorsk'					See Ch. XI n. 49.

LOCALITY	VARIANTS	EQUIVALENTS	REFERENCES	MAPS	NOTES
Aliws					<i>See</i> Ch. III n. 6.
Alki	Elki		E. 32, 60	E. G-5	
Alvar			G. 35 (2)	U. 340 A II	
			39°56' × 41°37'		
Amadia			E. 34	E. D-5	
Amaras					<i>See</i> Amaras.
Amaraz	Amaras		E. 34	E. G-7, AA 106	<i>See</i> Ch. IX n. 22.
Amaseia					<i>See</i> Amasia.
Amasia	Amasya		E. 34	E. B-1, HW 21a. F-1	
	Amaseia		TP	M 643 and f. 211	
Amasya	Amasia		G. 35 (2)		
			40°39' × 35°51'	U. 324 D IV	
Amid					<i>See</i> Amida.
Amida	Amid	Diyarbakir	E. 35	E. D-4	<i>See</i> Ch IX n. 42.
	Amit'		T.P.	H.W. 41, O-5, CM Of	
				M 737-740, f. 238	
Amit'					<i>See</i> Amida.
Analiba					<i>See</i> Analibna.
Analibla					<i>See</i> Analibna.
Analibna	Analiba	Daranalia	T.P., I.A.	M 645, 679 and 680 f.	<i>See</i> Ch. III nn. 16a-b.
	Analibla			223	
			P. V, vi, 18	CM Md	
			N.D.		
			E. 33		
Anastasiopolis					<i>See</i> Dara.
Angl berd	Ağil	Eğil	E. 35 (1)	E. G-4	T. 75 n. 83, 109 n. 168, 131
		Karkathiokerta		AA 106	137 n. 240, 167-168, 176-179,
					224, 297-303, 315.
					<i>See</i> Ch. XI n. 21; XIV
					n. 48.

LOCALITY	VARIANTS	EQUIVALENTS	REFERENCES	MAPS	NOTES
Angl in Calkotn	Anglōn		E. 35 (2)	E. G-5	T. 310, 315, 319. <i>See</i> Ch. XI nn. 21, 22.
Anglōn					<i>See</i> Angl in Calkotn.
Ani in Daranalik'		Kemah	E. 35	E. G-3	T. 109 n. 168, 454 n. 64. <i>See</i> Ch. III nn. 1, 3a.
Ani in Širak			G. 37 40°32' × 43°34'	U. 325 D IV	T. 206, 207 n. 236.
Anōšarvān kala					<i>See</i> Akbas.
Antioch of Mygdonia					<i>See</i> Nisibis.
Anzit					<i>See</i> Anzita.
Anzita	Anzit Hinzīt	Hışn Ziyad Castellum Ziata Tilenzit	E 36	E. G-3	<i>See</i> Ch. II nn. 11b, 19a-c, 20.
Aqbā					<i>See</i> Akbas.
Arabessōn.					<i>See</i> Artalesōn.
Arabissos		Afşin ? Yarpuz	T.P., I.A. ad L., H.S., G.C. E. 38	M 737-738, f. 237 E. G-2 CM Ke	
Arabrake					<i>See</i> Ch. IV p. 69.
Arahez.					<i>See</i> Avaris.
Arakli					<i>See</i> Sürmene.
Aranē					<i>See</i> Aranis.
Arangas		Argaus ?	T.P.	M 682 and 681 f. 223 CM Ld	<i>See</i> Ch. IV n. 20.
Aranis	Aranē	Alacahan	P. V, vi, 21 I.A.	M 684 CM Ld	<i>See</i> Ch. IV n. 23.
Arapkir			G. 40 (1) 39°03' × 38°30'	U. 341 B II	
ad Aras		Izollu	E. 31 T.P.	E. G-3 M. 738, fig. 238	

LOCALITY	VARIANTS	EQUIVALENTS	REFERENCES	MAPS	NOTES
Arasaka					<i>.See Şarkışla.</i>
Arauracos	Aaurica		I.A., N.D.	CM Md	
Aaurica					<i>.See Arauracos.</i>
Arbela			E. 49	AA 104, HW 21a G-2	<i>See Ch. IX n. 33.</i>
Arcas	Arka	Arga	I.A.	M 736 and f. 237	<i>See Ch. IV n. 42a.</i>
	Arkas		ad L., H.S., G.C.	CM Me	
	Arkē				
Arcat'i	Arzuti			AA 106	<i>See Arzuti.</i>
Arēēš		Arcis	E. 39	E. G-5	T. 205 n. 234.
				AA 106	
Arcis		Arēēš	G. 41	U. 340 B IV	
		Erçiş	39°00' × 43°19'		
Arcn			E.58	AA 106	<i>See also Karin.</i>
Ardasa		Torul	G. 41	AA 106	
			40°35' × 39°18'		
Areōn					<i>See Ch. III n. 25.</i>
Arest	Arestawan		E. 37	E. G-5	<i>See Ch. I nn. 11-12a.</i>
	Arrestōn				
Arestawan					<i>.See Arest.</i>
Arga		Arcas	G. 42 (2)		
			38°21' × 37°59'		
Argaun	Argaus	Tahir ?	E. 39	E. G-2	<i>See Ch. IV n. 20.</i>
	Arangas ?				
	Arguvas ?				
Argaus.					<i>.See Argaun.</i>
Arghana Maden			G. 42	U. 340 A IV	
			38°23' × 39°40'		
Arguvan					<i>.See Arguvas.</i>
Arguvas	Arguvan	Arangas ?	G. 42	U. 341 B III	
		Argaun ?	38°47' × 38°17'		
Ariarathē					<i>.See Ariarathia.</i>

LOCALITY	VARIANTS	EQUIVALENTS	REFERENCES	MAPS	NOTES
Ariaratheia . . . . .					.See Ariarathia.
Ariarathia	Ariarathē Ariaratheia	Aziziye ?	C.Th. XXX, xi, 2 C.J. XI, 47, 1 ad L., H.S., G.C.	HW 20a D-2 CM Ke	.See Ch. IV n. 42a.
Arizan . . . . .					.See Erēz
Arka . . . . .					.See Arcas.
Arkathiokerta . . . . .					.See Karkathiokerta.
Arkē . . . . .					.See Arcas.
Arna		Aeliana ?	E. 37	E. G-6	
Arrestōn . . . . .					.See Arēst.
Arsamosata	Ašmušat Šamšat Šamšey Šamušat Šamuši Šamušia Šimšat	Yarimca	E.40	E. G-3 CM Ne	T. 75 n. 83, 210. .See Ch. II nn. 17-19.
Artales . . . . .					.See Artalesōn.
Artalesōn	Artales	Endires ?			.See Ch. I pp. 19-20 and n. 36.
Artašat		Artaxata	E. 41	E. G-6	
Artaxata . . . . .					.See Artašat.
Artvin			G. 46 41°11' × 41°49'	U. 324 C III	
Arzuti	Arcat'i ?		G. 46 40°04' × 41°16'	U. 324 C III	
Asagi Kirvaz		Kowars ? Kiravi ?		U. 340 A III	.See Ch. I n. 30.
Aşkale			G. 55 (2) 39°55' × 40°42'	U. 340 A I	
Ašmušat . . . . .					.See Arsamosata.
Ašnak . . . . .					.See Ošakan.
Aštišat	Yaštišat		E. 36	E. G-4	T. 209. .See Ch. II n. 4; XI n. 35.

LOCALITY	VARIANTS	EQUIVALENTS	REFERENCES	MAPS	NOTES
Astlberd		Azakpert ? Kitharizōn ?		AA 104	<i>See</i> Ch. I n. 33a.
Athenae	At'ina Athenis		E. 32 T.P.	E. B-4, AA 106 M 648 and f. 212 CM Ob	<i>See</i> Ch. III n. 30.
Athenis					<i>.See</i> Athenae.
At'ina					<i>.See</i> Athenae.
Attachas	At't'ax Attacha Hattah ?	Hindis ?		AA 106 CM Oe	<i>See</i> Ch. I nn. 7, 8a ; V n. 15a.
At't'ax					<i>.See</i> Attachas.
Auasa					<i>.See</i> Abaxa.
Auaxa					<i>.See</i> Abaxa.
Avares					<i>.See</i> Avaris.
Avaris	Avares	Arahez ?	G. 58 40°51' × 41°45'	U. 324 C III	
Awaz					<i>.See</i> Abaxa.
Axkan					<i>.See</i> Olakan.
Aza					<i>.See</i> Haza.
Azaghberd					<i>.See</i> Azakpert.
Azakpert	Azaghberd	Astlberd ? Aznaberd ? Kitharizōn ?	G. 64 39°14' × 40°30'	U. 340 A I	<i>See</i> Ch. I n. 33b.
Aziran					<i>.See</i> Erēz.
Aziris			P. V, vi, 18		
Aziziye		Pirnabaşin Ariarathia ?	G. 64 38°44' × 36°24' E. 39	U. 341 B IV	
Aznaberd					<i>.See</i> Azakpert.
Baberd		Bayburt		AA 106	
Bāb-al-Abwāb					<i>.See</i> Darband.

LOCALITY	VARIANTS	EQUIVALENTS	REFERENCES	MAPS	NOTES
bēθ Bagas . . . . .					.See Başkale.
Bagawan		Bagauna Surb Karapet	E. 42	E. G-5	T. 309, 319-320. .See Ch. XI nn. 20, 27a.
Bagarič . . . . .					.See Bagayarič.
Bagayarič	Bagarič	Pekeriç	E. 42	E. G-4	.See Ch. III n. 1.
Baghin . . . . .					.See Bağın.
Bağın	Baghin	Palin Palios	G. 62 (2) 39°00' × 39°55'	U. 340 A I	
Baiberdōn		Bayburt			.See Ch. III n. 25.
Baïoulouos . . . . .					.See Balu.
Balaleisōn . . . . .					.See Balēš.
Balēš	Balalēš	Balaleison Bitlis	E. 44	E. G-5 AA 106	.See Ch. IX n. 34.
Balu		Baïoulouos Palu	E. 43	E. G-3 AA 106	.See Ch. III n. 3.
Banabelōn	Benabelōn . . . . .				.See Bnabeł.
Barchōn					.See Ch. III n. 26c.
Bargiri . . . . .					.See Berkri.
Barissara . . . . .					.See Berissē.
Barsalium . . . . .					.See Barzalo.
Barzalo	Barsalium		T.P. E. 44	E. D-3 M 684 and f. 224 CM Ne	
Baš Šoragyal . . . . .					.See Širakawan.
Başkale		Hadamakert bēθ Bagas ?	G. 78 38°02' × 44°00'	U. 340 B IV AA 108	
Başsüregel	Baš Šoragyal	Širakawan	G. 80 40°42' × 43°44'	U. 325 D IV	
Bayazet' . . . . .					.See Doğubayazit.
Bayburt	Baytberd	Baiberdōn	G. 82 (2)	U. 324 C IV	

LOCALITY	VARIANTS	EQUIVALENTS	REFERENCES	MAPS	NOTES
	Baberd		40°16' × 40°15' E. 44	AA 108 E. B-4	
Baytberd . . . . .					.See Bayburt.
Baz			G. 84 38°00' × 44°07'	U. 340 B IV	
Bazanis . . . . .					.See Bizana.
Bazmatbiwr		Xaç		AA. 105	.See Ch. III n. 6
Belhan . . . . .					.See Belikân.
Belikân	Bilikân	Belhan ?	G. 88 (2)	U. 340 A IV.	
	Babikan	Belkania ?	38°19' × 40°02'		
Belkania		Belhan ?			.See Ch. II n. 11b.
Benabelôn . . . . .					.See Bnabel.
Benabil		Bnabel	G. 89 37°19' × 40°51'		.See Ch. II nn. 5a, 6.
Berdaa . . . . .					.See Partaw.
Berisse	Barissara		ad L., G.C.		.See Ch. IV n. 42a.
	Verisa				
Berkri	Bargiri	Muradiye	G. 77 39°00' × 43°43'	AA 106 U. 340 B IV	
Berzend					.See Ch. IX n. 13.
Bezabdē	Bzabdē	Jazīrah ibn Omar		E. D-5	
Bitlis		Balaleisōn	G. 98	U. 340 A III	
		Balēš	38°22' × 42°06'		
Bizana	Bazanis	Leontopolis I			.See Ch. III n. 26; VI nn. 28k, 29.
	Vizana	Vižan			
Blandos		Tutmaç ?	I.A.	M 683	
Blur					.See Ch. XI n. 27a.
Bnabel	Banabelôn	Benabil	E. 45	E. D-4	T. 137 n. 240, 168, 176-177.
Boğlan			G. 100 38°58' × 41°03'		
Boł . . . . .					.See Bołberd.

LOCALITY	VARIANTS	EQUIVALENTS	REFERENCES	MAPS	NOTES
	Baberd		40°16' × 40°15' E. 44	AA 108 E. B-4	
Baytberd					<i>.See Bayburt.</i>
Baz			G. 84 38°00' × 44°07'	U. 340 B IV	
Bazanis					<i>.See Bizana.</i>
Bazmalbiwr		Xaç		AA. 105	<i>See Ch. III n. 6</i>
Belhan					<i>.See Belikân.</i>
Belikân	Bilikân	Belhan ?	G. 88 (2)	U. 340 A IV.	
	Babikan	Belkania ?	38°19' × 40°02'		
Belkania		Belhan ?			<i>See Ch. II n. 11b.</i>
Benabelôn					<i>.See Bnabel.</i>
Benabil		Bnabel	G 89 37°19' × 40°51'		<i>See Ch. II nn. 5a, 6.</i>
Berdaa					<i>.See Partaw.</i>
Berisse	Barissara		ad L., G.C.		<i>See Ch. IV n. 42a.</i>
	Verisa				
Berkri	Bargiri	Muradiye	G. 77 39°00' × 43°43'	AA 106 U. 340 B IV	
Berzend					<i>See Ch. IX n. 13.</i>
Bezabdē	Bzabdē	Jazīrah ibn Omar		E. D-5	
Bitlis		Balaleisōn	G. 98	U. 340 A III	
		Balēš	38°22' × 42°06'		
Bizana	Bazanis	Leontopolis I			<i>See Ch. III n. 26; VI nn. 28k, 29.</i>
	Vizana	Vižan			
Blandos		Tutmaç ?	I.A.	M 683	
Blur					<i>See Ch. XI n. 27a.</i>
Bnabel	Banabelôn	Benabil	E. 45	E. D-4	<i>T. 137 n. 240, 168, 176-177.</i>
Boğlan			G. 100 38°58' × 41°03'		
Boł					<i>.See Bołberd.</i>

LOCALITY	VARIANTS	EQUIVALENTS	REFERENCES	MAPS	NOTES
Bolberd	Bol Bolön	Valarsakert ? Buğakale ? Porpes	E. 45	E. B-4 AA 106	<i>See</i> Ch. I nn. 39a, 40-43; XI n. 3c.
Borbas					<i>.See</i> Porpēs.
Bourg					<i>.See</i> Bourgousnoes.
Bourgousnoes	Bourg				<i>See</i> Ch. III n. 27.
Brisa			N. XXXI		
Brnakapan		Pirnakapan	E. 46 (2)	E. G-4 AA 106	<i>See</i> Ch. III n. 12.
Bubalia			T.P.	M. 680, f. 223	<i>See</i> Ch. IV n. 17.
Buğakale		Bolberd ?	G. 108 40°12' × 41°41'	U. 324 C III	
Büyük Tuy					<i>.See</i> Du.
Caene Parembolē	Kainē Parembolē		N.D.		<i>See</i> Ch. V n. 19.
Caesarea of Cappadocia		Eusebeia Mazaka Kayseri	I.A., T.P. E. 58	M 729 and f. 234 HW 41 N-5 E. B-7 CM Je	<i>See</i> Ch. IV n. 7.
Çaldiran			G. 122 (3) 39°09' × 43°52'	U. 340 B I	
Caleorsissa	Kaltiorissa Caltiorissa	Gölaris ? Olotoedariza ?	P. V, vi, 18 T.P., I.A.	M. 679 and 680 f. 223 CM Md	<i>See</i> Ch. IV n. 16b.
Çalik					<i>.See</i> Zağki.
Çalki					<i>.See</i> Zağki.
Caltiorissa					<i>.See</i> Caleorsissa.
Camisa	Comassa	Kemis ? Hafik, Koğhhisar ?	T.P., I.A.	M. 730 and 676 f. 222 CM Ld	
Çapakjur	Çaptjur	Kitharizōn ?	G. 129 38°50' × 40°12'	AA 106	
Carape					<i>.See</i> Karape.
Carcathiocerta					<i>.See</i> Karkathiokerta.

LOCALITY	VARIANTS	EQUIVALENTS	REFERENCES	MAPS	NOTES
Carsat . . . . .					.See Garsagis.
Casara . . . . .					.See Kasara.
Castellum Ziata . . . . .					.See Anzita.
Çemişgezek	Čmškacak		G. 141 39°04' × 38°55'		
Cena . . . . .					.See Kena.
Cerasus . . . . .					.See Kerasos.
Çerme		Jermay	G. 144 (5) 39°37' × 40°37'	AA 105	
Çermik		Ciaca ?	G. 144 (2) 38°42' × 38°27'	U. 341 B IV	
Charaba . . . . .					.See Xaraba Barbas.
Charax			P. V, vi, 18	CM Dc	
Charsianōn	Charsianum Charsiane	Horsana ?		CM Jd	
Charsianum . . . . .					.See Charsianōn.
Chartōn . . . . .					.See Hart.
Chaszanenica		Gizenica Hadzana ? Larhan ?	T.P. N.D.	M. 681 and 641 f. 212	.See Ch. V n. 17.
Chiaca . . . . .					.See Ciaca.
Chlomarōn		Klimar			.See Ch. I nn. 17, 18a.
Chorsabia			P. V, vi, 18		
Ciaca	Chiaca Kiakis Kiakkas	Craca Çermik ?	P. V, vi, 19-21 T.P., I.A. N.D. E. 59	M. 682 and 680 f. 223	
Cimin	Čimin Jimin	Tzumina Justinianopolis	G. 152 39°43' × 39°44'	E. G-3 U. 340 A I	
Citharizon . . . . .					.See Kitharizōn.

Claudia	Glaudia Klaudias Kławdias		T.P. P. V, vi, 24 E. 59	M. 684 and f. 224 CM Me E. G-3	
Čmškacag . . . . .					.See Čemişgezек.
Cocuso. . . . .					.See Kukusos.
Cölemerik . . . . .					.See Julamerк.
Colonia . . . . .					.See Koloneia.
Comana . . . . .					.See Komana.
Comassa . . . . .					.See Camisa.
Corne	Kornē		T.P.	M. 684 and 683 f. 224 CM Me	
Coucarizon . . . . .					.See Kukarizōn.
Covk'			E. 56-57	E. G-3 AA 106	
Craca . . . . .					.See Ciaca.
Ctesiphon		Tizbon Madā'in		HW 41 O-6	.See Ch. XIII n. 25.
Cunissa			T.P., I.A.	M. 676 and 645 f. 212	.See Ch. IV n. 16a.
Dadima . . . . .					.See Dadimon.
Dadimon	Dadima			CM Ne	.See Ch. IX n. 42.
Dagalasso		Megalasso ?	I.A.	CM Md	.See Ch. IV n. 16.
Dagona	Doganis		P. V, vi, 18 T.P. E. 48	M. 730 and 676 f. 222 E. G-2	
Dalana			P. V, vi, 18		
Dandaxena	Dandaxina		I.A. E. 48	M. 736 and f. 237 E. G-2	
Dara	Kara Dara	Anastasiopolis	G. 168 37°10' × 40°58'	U. 340 D II HW 43 O-5 CM Pf	.See Ch. I n. 3.
Darband	Derbend Derbent	Bāb-al-Abwāb	E. 49	E. A-8	

LOCALITY	VARIANTS	EQUIVALENTS	REFERENCES	MAPS	NOTES
Darendë		Taranta	G. 169 38°34' × 37°30'	U. 341 B III	<i>See also</i> Osdara.
Darewniç Berd					<i>. See Dariwnk'.</i>
Darioza		Derreigazan ?			<i>See</i> Ch. I n. 38a.
Dariwnk'	Daroynk' Darewniç Berd	Doğubayazıt	E. 49	E. G-6 AA 106	T. 202, 321-323, 322 n. 77, 342-343, 344 n. 16. <i>See</i> Ch. XI n. 19a, 24-25.
Daroynk'					<i>. See Dariwnk'.</i>
Dascusa	Daskusa Daseusa		P. V, vi, 18 T.P., I.A. N.D. E. 48	CM Me M. 682 and 680 f. 223 E. G-3	<i>See</i> Ch. IV n. 19a.
Daseusa					<i>. See Dascusa.</i>
Daskusa					<i>. See Dascusa.</i>
Dasteira		Dostal	E. 48	E. G-3	<i>See</i> Ch. III n. 15a.
Deh Naııragān					<i>. See Deh Xargan.</i>
Deh Xarakan					<i>. See Deh Xargan.</i>
Deh-Xargan	Dehxarakan	Deh Naııragān		AA 106	
Deir					<i>. See Der.</i>
Deliktaş		Euspoena	G. 175 39°21' × 37°13'	U. 341 B-1	
Der	Deir	Şikefti	G. 178 38°09' × 44°12'		
Derik			G. 183 (1) 37°22' × 40°17'	U. 340 D I	
Divrigi		Tephrikē Teucila ? Tevrik	G. 190 39°23' × 38°07'	U. 341 B II	<i>See</i> Ch. IV n. 19.
Diyadin		Tateōnk'	G. 190 (3) 39°33' × 43°40'	U. 340 B I AA 108	

LOCALITY	VARIANTS	EQUIVALENTS	REFERENCES	MAPS	NOTES
Diyarbakir	Diyarbekir	Amida	G. 190 37°55' × 40°14'	U. 340 D I	<i>See</i> Ch. I n. 8.
Diyarbekir					<i>.See</i> Diyarbakir.
Diza					<i>.See</i> Gever.
Djanik		Samsun	G. 191 41°17' × 36°20'	U. 324 D I	
Djelu		Çal ?			Unidentifiable.
Doganis					<i>.See</i> Dagona.
Doğubayazit	Bayazet'	Dariwnk'	G. 82 39°32' × 44°08'	U. 340 B-I	
Domana			P. V, vi, 18 T.P., I.A. N.D.	CM Oc M. 682 and 646 f. 212	
Dostal		Dasteira	G. 195 39°28' × 38°30'	U. 341 B II	
Doubios					<i>.See</i> Dwin.
Dracones	Draconis Dracontes	Melikşerif ? Chapul Köprü ?	T.P., I.A. E. 49	M. 676 and 645 f. 212 E. B-3 CM Mc	<i>See</i> Ch. IV nn. 16a, 17.
Draconis					<i>.See</i> Dracones.
Dracontes.					<i>.See</i> Dracones.
Du	Tuy	Büyük Tuy Küçük Tuy	G. 432 (Küçük) 40°00' × 41°26'	U. 340 A II (Büyük)	<i>See</i> Ch. I nn. 38c, 39.
Dwin		Doubios	E. 49	E. G-6 AA 106	<i>See</i> Ch. I n. 18.
Eğil	Ağil	Anğl Berd	G. 202 38°15' × 40°05'	U. 340 A IV	
Egen					<i>.See</i> Eğin.
Eğin	Ekin Egen	Akn	G. 202 39°16' × 38°29'	U. 341 B III	
Eken					<i>.See</i> Eğin.

LOCALITY	VARIANTS	EQUIVALENTS	REFERENCES	MAPS	NOTES
Elañç	Elnut Ohnut	Oğnut			<i>See</i> Ch. I nn. 29, 30.
Elbistan		Plasta	G. 205 (1) 38°13' × 37°12'	U. 341 B IV	
Elegarič					<i>See</i> Elegarsina.
Elegarsina	Elegarič	Kamişli dere	T.P. E. 50	M. 682 E. G-3	
Ehind	Erind Rint			T.A. 1/d	
Elki	Alki		G. 206 37°24' × 43°10'	U. 340 C I	
Elnut					<i>See</i> Oğnut.
Enderis	Endires Endiryas Henderis	Suşehri Artalesōn ?	G. 210 40°11' × 38°06'	U. 324 D III	<i>See</i> Ch. I n. 36.
Endires					<i>See</i> Enderis.
Endiryas					<i>See</i> Enderis.
Erand					<i>See</i> Rhandeia.
Eraḡani					<i>See</i> Erkinis.
Erçiş					<i>See</i> Arciş.
Eröz	Eriza Erezawan Erznka	Erzincan Arizan ? Aziran ?	E. 50	E. G-3 AA 106	<i>See</i> Ch. I nn. 28, 28a, 32, 32a.
Erözawan					<i>See</i> Eröz.
Erind					<i>See</i> Ehind.
Eriza					<i>See</i> Eröz.
Erkinis		Eraḡani Irḡan	G. 213 40°33' × 41°43'		
Erumya					<i>See</i> Urumya.

LOCALITY	VARIANTS	EQUIVALENTS	REFERENCES	MAPS	NOTES
Erzincan		Erēz	G. 214 39°44' × 39°29'	U. 340 A I	
Erznka . . . . .					.See Erēz.
Erzurum		Theodosiopolis Karin	G. 214 39°55' × 41°17'	U. 340 A II	
Eski Mosul . . . . .					.See Nineveh.
Euchaïta				CM Ic	.See Ch. VII n. 18.
Eudoixata			P. V, vi, 18		
Eumeis			I.A.	M 675	
Eusebeia . . . . .					.See Caesarea of Cappadocia.
Euspoena		Deliktaş	I.A.	M 683 CM Ld	
Fatax . . . . .					.See Phathachōn.
Fidi		Pydna	G. 225 40°43' × 36°27'	U. 324 D IV	
Fis	Afisios Affis	Pheison	G. 226 38°20' × 40°34'	U. 340 A IV	.See Ch. I n. 21.
Fittar . . . . .					.See Phitar.
Fum	Pum	Afumōn ?			.See Ch. I n. 17a.
Gaitarič					.See Xaldoy arič.
Ganjak	Ganzaca Ganzaka Ganjak Šahastan	Shiz Takht i Suleiman	E.46	E. D-4 HW 41 P-5	.See Ch. I n. 1; IX nn. 27, 28.
Ganjak Šahastan. . . . .					.See Ganjak.
Ganzaca . . . . .					.See Ganjak.
Garissa . . . . .					.See Garsi.
Gaŋni in Daranalik'	Karni		E. 46 (3)	E. G-3	
Gaŋni in Kotayk'			E. 46 (2)	E. G-5 AA 106	
Garsagis	*Garsanis	Carsat Gercanis	I.A.	M 675	

LOCALITY	VARIANTS	EQUIVALENTS	REFERENCES	MAPS	NOTES
*Garsanis . . . . .					. See Garsagis.
Garsi	Garissa	Karissa	E. 47 T.P.	E. B-1 M 678 and 675 f. 222	
Garzan . . . . .					. See Zok.
Garzanissa . . . . .					. See Gercanis.
Gawař . . . . .					. See Gever.
Gazaca . . . . .					. See Ganjak.
Geğik	Gelik	Giwlik	G. 232		
	Geyik		40°11' × 40°44'	U. 324 C IV	
Gelik . . . . .					. See Geğik.
Gercanis	Gerdjanis	Gersagis	G. 234		
	Kerčanis	Garzanissa	39°54' × 38°46'		
		Refahiye ?	E. 58	E. G-3	
Germani Fossatum		Krom ?	Aed. III, iv, 10		. See Ch. III n. 25.
Gersagis . . . . .					. See Gercanis.
Gever	Gawař	Bagas ?		AA 106	. See Ch. IX nn. 33, 34.
	Baleš gewer ?				
Girvaz . . . . .					. See Guvars.
Giwlik . . . . .					. See Geğik.
Gizenica . . . . .					. See Chaszanenica.
Glaudia . . . . .					. See Claudia.
Godasa	Gundusa	Gündüz ?	P. V, vi, 18 I.A.	M. 675	
Göksun		Kukusos	G. 244 38°03' × 36°30'	U. 341 B IV	
Gölaris	Göller köyü	Caleorsissa ?		U. 341 B II	. See Ch. IV n. 16f.
Göller köyü . . . . .					. See Gölaris.
Gömenek		Komana Pontica	G. 248 40°23' × 36°39'	U. 324 D IV	

LOCALITY	VARIANTS	EQUIVALENTS	REFERENCES	MAPS	NOTES
Gümüşane	Gümüşhane		G. 255 41°07' × 41°56'	U. 324 C II	
Gümüşhane . . . . .					.See Gümüşane.
Gundusa . . . . .					.See Godasa.
Gündüz	Güdüz	Godasa ?	G. 252 39°34' × 37°21'		
Gurpınar . . . . .					.See Kangawar.
Guvars	Girvaz				.See Kowars.
Haçıwn		Haysun	E. 62	E. G-6 AA 106	
Haçköy		Xaç Bazmatbiwr	G. 267 39°39' × 40°40'	U. 340 A I	.See Ch. III n. 10.
Hadamakert	Adamakert	Başkale	E. 62	E. G-5 AA 106	T. 199-200. .See Ch. XI n. 71.
Hadzana . . . . .					.See Chaszanenica.
Hafik . . . . .					.See Koçhisar.
Hahi		Xax ?	G. 267 38°54' × 39°32'	U. 340 A IV	
Halan	Halane	Horonôn			.See Ch. III n. 31b.
Halane . . . . .					.See Halan.
Hamşen . . . . .					.See Hemşin.
Hamurgân . . . . .					.See Sürmene.
Han . . . . .					.See Hani.
Hani	Han		G. 274 (1) 38°24' × 40°24'	U. 340 A IV	
Hapul köprü	Chapul Köprü	Dracones			.See Ch. IV n. 17.
Haraba . . . . .					.See Harabe.
Harabe köy	Haraba Mezraasi	Porpēs ? Jiwnakert ?	G. 275 (1) 38°57' × 41°02'	U. 340 A III	.See Ch. I n. 33.
Hare-berd . . . . .					.See Xarberd.
Haris			T.P.	M. 682 and 680 f. 223	

LOCALITY	VARIANTS	EQUIVALENTS	REFERENCES	MAPS	NOTES
Harput	Kharput	Xarberd	G. 277 $38^{\circ}43' \times 39^{\circ}15'$	U. 340 A IV	
Hars		T'uḡars	G. 277 $40^{\circ}39' \times 41^{\circ}37'$	U. 324 C III	<i>See</i> Ch. I n. 44.
Hart	Khart	Chartōn	G. 277 (2) $40^{\circ}25' \times 40^{\circ}09'$	U. 324 C IV	
Harta-berd					<i>See</i> Xarberd.
Hasan Badrik					<i>See</i> Hasanbatrik.
Hasanbatrik	Hasan Badrik	Pisonos	G. 278 $38^{\circ}36' \times 38^{\circ}11'$		<i>See</i> Ch. IV n. 22.
Hasaṅcelebi		ad Praetorium	G. 278 $38^{\circ}58' \times 37^{\circ}54'$	U. 341 B II	
Hasankale		Valaršakert	G. 279 $39^{\circ}59' \times 41^{\circ}41'$	U. 340 A II	<i>See also</i> Bolberd.
Haşara		Chaszanenica ?	G. 279 $40^{\circ}30' \times 39^{\circ}28'$	U. 324 C IV	
Hasras			G. 280 $37^{\circ}57' \times 42^{\circ}16'$	U. 340 D II	
Hassis					<i>See</i> Haza.
Hattah					<i>See</i> Attachas.
Haysun					<i>See</i> Haçıwn.
Haza	Aza	Hassis	T.P., I.A. E. 31	M. 676 and 654 f. 212 E. B-3 CM Nc	<i>See</i> Ch. IV n. 24.
Hazm					<i>See</i> Hazro.
Hazro	Hazru Hazm		G. 284 $38^{\circ}15' \times 40^{\circ}47'$	U. 340 A III	
Hemşin		Hamşen	G. 285 $41^{\circ}00' \times 40^{\circ}53'$	U. 324 C IV	
Henderis					<i>See</i> Enderis.

LOCALITY	VARIANTS	EQUIVALENTS	REFERENCES	MAPS	NOTES
Hēr	Xer	Xoy	E. 63	E. G-6	
Hindis . . . . .					.See Attachas.
Hinis		Xnus	G. 289 (2) 39°22' × 41°44'	U. 340 A II	
Hinzit . . . . .					.See Anzita.
Hişn Ziyād . . . . .					.See Xarberd.
Hispa		Saracik	T.P. E. 63	M. 682 and 680 f. 223 E. G-3	
Hogeaç vank'					.See Ch. IX n. 23a.
Horē berd	Xorē berd	Xarberd	E. 63	E. G-3	.See Ch. II n. 15.
Hořomos vank'					.See Ch. XI n. 17.
Horonōn		Halane			.See Ch. III nn. 26b, 31b.
Horsana	Chorzana	Charsianōn ?	G. 294 (2) 39°45' × 37°14'	U. 341 B-I	.See Ch. IV nn. 27, 28.
		Orsa ?	G. 296		
Hozat		Xozan ?	G. 296 39°07' × 39°14'	U. 340 A I	
Hula . . . . .					.See Hulvenk.
Hulvenk		Hula vank'	G. 296 38°42' × 39°09'	U. 340 A IV	.See Ch. II nn. 10, 11, 16.
Humurgân . . . . .					.See Sürmene.
Hypselē . . . . .					.See Ipsile.
Ilige		Lice	G. 450 38°28' × 40°39'	U. 340 A IV	
Ipsala . . . . .					.See Ipsile.
Ipsile . . . . .					.See Ipsile.
Ipsile	Ipsala	Hypselē	G. 311 40°14' × 37°33'	U. 324 D III CM Lc	.See Ch. IV n. 26.
	Ipsile		E. 54	E. B-2	
Irġan . . . . .					.See Erkinis.

LOCALITY	VARIANTS	EQUIVALENTS	REFERENCES	MAPS	NOTES
Işhan		Işhan	G. 312 (2) 40°48' × 41°45'	U. 324 C III	T. 455 n. 70.
Ispa			P. V, vi, 18		
Ispir			G. 316 40°29' × 41°00'	U. 324 C III	
Işhan		Işhan	E. 54	E. B-4 AA 106	
Iuliopolis			E. 72 T.P.	CM Ne M. 658 and f. 216	See Ch. IV n. 9.
Ivora					See Ch. VII n. 18
Iz oglu					See Izolu.
Izolu	Iz oglu	ad Aras ?	G. 317 38°28' × 38°41'		
Jazirah ibn 'Omar	Jeziret ibn 'Omar	Bezabdē		AA 105	
Jenzan					See Zenjān.
Jermay					See Çerme.
Jeziret ibn 'Omar					See Jazirah ibn 'Omar.
Jimin					See Cimin.
Jiwnakert	Jiwnkert	Porpēs Harabe köy ?	E. 62	E. G-4 AA 106	
Jiwnkert					See Jiwnakert.
Julamerk	Çölemerik		G. 318 37°34' × 43°45'	U. 340 C I AA 108	See Ch. XI n. 55.
Justinianopolis		Cimin			See Ch. VI p. 117 and n.31; VII n.21.
Kağdariç	Büyük Kağdariç Galtariç	Xaldoy ariç	G. 322 39°58' × 40°47'	U. 340 A II	
Kağizman	Qaghyzman	Kalzwan	G. 322 40°09' × 43°07'	M. 325 D IV	
Kainē-Parembolē					See Caene Parembole.
Kainēpolis					See Valaršapat.
Kalajik					See Kalecik.

LOCALITY	VARIANTS	EQUIVALENTS	REFERENCES	MAPS	NOTES
Kalecik	Kalejcik Kalajik		G. 326 (16) 40°27' × 39°18'	U. 324 C IV	
Kalejcik . . . . .					.See Kalecik.
Kaltiorissa . . . . .					.See Caleorsissa.
Kalzewan . . . . .					.See Kalzwan.
Kalzwan	Kalzewan	Kağizman	E. 57	AA 106	
Kamacha . . . . .					.See Kamaç.
Kamakh . . . . .					.See Kamaç.
Kamaç	Kamacha Kamakh	Kemah		AA 106	
Kamis	Kemis		E. 57	E. G-2	.See Ch. IV n. 15a.
Kamişli dere . . . . .					.See Elegarsina.
Kamurjajor Vank'				AA 106	
Kân	Kjan		G. 329 (3) 39°57' × 41°16'	U. 340 A II	
Kangeva . . . . .					.See Kangowar.
Kangever . . . . .					.See Kangowar.
Kangowar	Kangeva Kanguar	Kangever Gürpınar?	E. 58	E. G-5 AA 106.	T. 198.
Kanguar . . . . .					.See Kangowar.
Kara Amida . . . . .					.See Amida.
Kara Dara . . . . .					.See Dara.
Karapē		Carape	P. V, vi, 18		
Karın	Karnoy k'alak'	Theodosiopolis Erzurum	E. 58	E. G-4 AA 106	T.193-194 n. 209. .See Ch. VI n. 28h, 36.
Karissa . . . . .					.See Garsi.
Karkathiokerta	Arkathiocerta Carcathiocerta	Martyropolis? Angl berd	E. 35	CM Ne	T. 75 n. 83, 131, 137 n. 240, 297 n. 80. .See Ch. II n. 5.
Karni	Garni in Daranalik'		G. 362 39°40' × 39°14'	U. 340 A I	

LOCALITY	VARIANTS	EQUIVALENTS	REFERENCES	MAPS	NOTES
Karnoy k'alak'					.See Karin.
Kars	Karuç berd		G. 362 40°37' × 43°05' E. 58	U. 325 D IV AA 106 E. B-5	
Karuç berd					.See Kars.
Kasara		Casara	P. V, vi, 18		
Kašē		Konša ?	E. 58	E. G-1 AA 105	.See Ch. III n. 6.
Kayseri		Caesarea of Cappadocia Eusebeia Mazaka	G. 373 38°43' × 35°30'	U. 341 B IV	
Keban-Maden			G. 375 38°48' × 38°45'	U. 341 B III	
Keli	Koloberd	Kiği		AA 106	
Kemah	Kamaç	Ani in Daranalık'	G. 378 (3) 39°36' × 39°02'	U. 340 A I	
Kemaliye					.See Eğin.
Kemis					.See Kamis.
Kena	Cena Okena				.See Ch. III pp. 49,52 and n. 27.
Keomana					.See Komana.
Keramon					.See Krom.
Kerasos	Cerasus Kerasunta	Pharnakia	N. XXXI	HW 15c C-1 CM Mc	
Kerasunta					.See Kerasos.
Kerčanis					.See Gercanis.
Kharput					.See Harput.
Khart					.See Hart.
Khiaghid aridj					.See Xaldoy arič.
Kiakis					.See Ciaca.

NAME	VARIANT	EQUIVALENT	REFERENCES	MAPS	NOTES
Kiakkas . . . . .					.See Ciaca.
Kiği-Kasaba		Keli Kołoberd	G. 386 39°20' × 40°30'	U. 340 A I	
Kinkivar . . . . .					.See Kowars.
Kiravi	Kirvel		G. 391 38°54' × 41°32'	U. 340 A III	.See Ch. I n. 30.
Kirvel . . . . .					.See Kiravi.
K'is . . . . .					.See Kuş.
Kit'arič	Qitriz	Köderiç Kitharizôn ? Sheikh Selim Kala ?	E. 59	E. G-5 AA 104	.See Ch. I n. 38.
Kitharizôn	Citharizon	Kit'arič ? Köderiç ? Sheikh Selim Kala ?		CM Ne	.See Ch. I nn. 27,33b-37.
Kjan . . . . .					.See Kân.
Klaudias . . . . .					.See Claudia.
Kławdias . . . . .					.See Claudia.
K'himar	Kutemran	Chlomarôn	E. 89		.See Ch. I n. 18a
Koçhisar	Şereflikoçhisar	Hafik Camisa ? Kitharizôn ?	G. 411 (7) 39°52' × 37°24'	U. 341 B II	
Köderiç			G. 411 38°54' × 39°45'	U. 340 A IV	.See Ch. I nn. 27, 33b.
Kokaris	Kokiris Kukalarič	Kukarizôn ?			.See Ch. VI n. 33.
Koł . . . . .					.See Kołoberd.
Kołb	Kulp		E. 59	E. B-5	
Kołoberd	Koł	Keli Kiği-Kasaba	E. 60	E. G-4	.See Ch. I n. 26.
Kolona . . . . .					.See Koloneia.
Koloneia	Colonia Kolona Kołoniay	Şebinkarahissar Koyul hisar ?	ad L., H.S., G.C. E. 60	CM Mc E. B-2	.See Ch. III nn. 25, 30b.

LOCALITY	VARIANTS	EQUIVALENTS	REFERENCES	MAPS	NOTES
Koloniay . . . . .					.See Koloneia.
Komana Aurea	Comana Golden Comana	Şar	I.A., T.P. ad L. H.S., G.C.	HW 21a, F-2 M. 735-736 and f. 237 CM Ke	.See Ch. IV n. 7.
Komana Pontica	Comana Komanta	Gömenek	T.P.	M. 674 and 676 f. 222 HW 21a F-1 CM Ke	.See Ch. IV n. 42a.
Komanta . . . . .					.See Komana Pontica.
Konşa		Kašë ?	G. 415 38°32' × 40°38'	U. 340 A IV	
Kornë . . . . .					.See Corne.
Koropassos . . . . .					.See Zoropassos.
Kot'ër		Kötür			.See Ch. III n. 6.
Kötür	Khotour	Kot'ër	G. 424 39°43' × 40°18'	U. 340 A I	.See Ch. III n. 7.
Kowark' . . . . .					.See Kowars.
Kowars	Kowark' Guvars ? Girvaz ?	Kiravi ? Asađi Kirvaz Girvaz komlari ?	E. 61		.See Ch. I n. 30.
Koyulhisar		Koloneia ?	G. 425 40°18' × 37°51'	U. 324 D IV	
Krëunik' . . . . .					.See Kurcivik.
Krom	Kroman Kürüman	Keramon Germani Fossatum ?	G. 428 38°52' × 40°20'		.See Ch. VI n. 35.
Küçük Tuy . . . . .					.See Du.
Kukarizōn		Kokaris ?	Aed. III, iv, 12		
Kukusos	Cucusus Cocuso	Göksun	I.A. ad L., H.S., G.C.	M. 736 and 735 f. 237 CM Ke	.See Ch. IV n. 42a.
Kulp	Koľb	Tuzluca	G. 434 40°03' × 43°39'		

LOCALITY	VARIANTS	EQUIVALENTS	REFERENCES	MAPS	NOTES
Kurcivik		Krēunik' ?	G. 437 38°34' × 44°07'	U. 340 B IV	
Kurnuğ		Mknarinč ?	G. 439 40°03' × 41°37'	U. 324 C III	
Kurucan			G. 442 38°37' × 44°16'	U. 340 B IV	See Ch. XI n. 62.
Küruman . . . . .					.See Krom.
Kuş	Kiş	Kasimi ?	G. 443 37°44' × 40°41'	U. 340 D I ?	
Kutemran . . . . .					.See Klimar.
Larhan		Chaszanenica	G. 449 40°44' × 39°37'	U. 324 C IV	
Leontopolis . . . . .					.See Bizana and Zalichos.
Leri	Lerri	Leriōn Rumlik		U. 324 C IV	See Ch. VI n. 35.
Leriōn . . . . .					.See Leri.
Lerri . . . . .					.See Leri.
Lice . . . . .					.See Iliçe.
Lim	Limb	Lumb	E. 54	E. G-5	See Ch. XI n. 60.
Limb . . . . .					.See Lim.
Longini Fossatum					See Ch. III n. 27.
Lumb . . . . .					.See Lim.
Lysiormon			Aed. III, iv, 10		See Ch. III n. 25.
Lytararizōn	Lusat'ařið ?	Olotoedariza ?	Aed. III, iv, 10		See Ch. III n. 25; VI n. 34.
Madā'in . . . . .					.See Ctesiphon.
Maden . . . . .					.See Arghana Maden.
Maipherkat . . . . .					.See Miyafarkin.
Maku		Šawarsan	E. 64	E. G-6 AA 106	T. 197.
Malatya		Melitenē	G. 455 (I) 38°21' × 38°19'	U. 341 B III	

LOCALITY	VARIANTS	EQUIVALENTS	REFERENCES	MAPS	NOTES
Malazgirt	Masgirt Mazgert Mazgirt	Manazkert	G. 455 39°09' × 42°31'	U. 340 B I	<i>See</i> Ch. XI n. 45.
Mamahatun			G. 456 39°47' × 40°24'	U. 340 A I	
Manawazkert					<i>.See</i> Manazkert.
Manazkert	Manawazkert Manzikert	Malazgirt	E. 65	E. G-5 AA 106	T. 218. <i>See</i> Ch. XI nn. 45, 51.
Manzikert.					<i>.See</i> Manazkert.
Maragay					<i>See</i> Ch. III n. 1.
Maragha				AA 105	
Marakan	Marakert	Marakend	E. 65	E. G-6 AA 106	<i>See</i> Ch. XI n. 61.
Marakert					<i>.See</i> Marakan.
Marand			E. 65	E. G-6 AA 106	
Mardara			P. V, vi, 18.		
Mardē berd					<i>.See</i> Mardin.
Mardin	Mardē berd		G. 459 (1) 37°18' × 40°44' E. 65	U. 340 D I E. D-4	
Masgirt					<i>.See</i> Malazgirt.
Martyropolis		Tigranakert Miyafarkin Np'rkert	Aed. III, ii, 2-3 Pers. I, viii, 22 xxi, 6	HW 43 O-5 CM Oe	T. 137-138 n. 240, 174. <i>See</i> Ch. I nn. 4-6.
Mastara				AA 109	
Mazaka					<i>.See</i> Caesarea of Cappadocia.
Mazara		Mezrē ?			<i>See</i> Ch. II nn. 11b, 12a, 13.
Mebin		Nisibis Nusaybin	E. 71	E. D-4 AA 108	

LOCALITY	VARIANTS	EQUIVALENTS	REFERENCES	MAPS	NOTES
Megalasso	Megalossos	Dagalasso ?	T.P.	M. 730 and f. 234 CM Md	<i>See</i> Ch. IV n. 16.
Megalossos					<i>.See</i> Megalasso.
Meletensis					<i>.See</i> Melitenē.
Melikân		Artalesön	G. 464 (2) 39°28' × 40°21'	U. 340 A I	
Melikşerif	Melikşerik ?	Dracones ?	G. 464 39°56' × 38°56'	U. 341 B II	<i>See</i> M. 682.
Melita	Metita Meteita		P. V, vi, 24 T.P., N.D. E. 70	M. 684 and f. 224 E. G-3 CM Me	
Melitenē	Meletensis Melitine	Malatya	T.P., I.A. N.D. E. 66	M. 683 and f. 224 HW 41 N-5 E. G-6 CM Me	<i>See</i> Ch. IV n. 11
Melitine					<i>.See</i> Melitenē.
Melomeran					<i>.See</i> Mollaömer.
Mesoromē			T.P. 7 E. 70	M. 731 and 675 f. 222 E. B-2	
Metita					<i>.See</i> Melita.
Miyafarkin	Maipherkat Muharkin Mufarlin	Martyropolis Tigranakert Np'rkert Silvan	G. 475 38°08' × 41°01'	U. 340 A III	<i>See</i> Ch. I nn. 9, 10.
Mknarinē					<i>.See</i> Kurnuç.
Mochora		Mohola ? Muçura	N.D. G. 475 40°54' × 39°27'	U. 324 C IV	<i>See</i> Ch. V n. 16a.
Mohola					<i>.See</i> Mochora.

LOCALITY	VARIANTS	EQUIVALENTS	REFERENCES	MAPS	NOTES
Mollaömer	Molla Omer Mulla Omer Melomeran	Mormrean	G. 476 (2) 39°27' × 40°45'	U. 340 II	
Mormran . . . . .					.See Mormrean.
Mormrean	Mormran Morran	Mollaömer			.See Ch. I n. 25.
Morran . . . . .					.See Mormrean.
Mren			E. 71	E. B-5 AA 106	T. 214 . .See Ch. XI n. 18.
Mucura . . . . .					.See Mochora.
Mufarlin . . . . .					.See Miyafarkin.
Muharkin . . . . .					.See Miyafarkin.
Mulla Omer . . . . .					.See Mollaömer.
Muradiye . . . . .					.See Berkri.
Nagan . . . . .					.See Nkan.
Naḫčawan . . . . .					.See Naḫijewan.
Naḫijewan	Naḫčawan	Naxuana	P. V, vii, 5 E. 72	AA 106 E. B-5	
Naxuana . . . . .					.See Naḫijewan.
Neferkert . . . . .					.See Np'rkert.
Neo Caesarea		Niksar	T.P.	M. 644 f. 211 HW 43 N-4 CM Lc	
Nerjiki					.See Ch. I n. 18a.
Nicopolis . . . . .					.See Nikopolis.
Nikopolis	Nicopolis	Pürk	P. V, vi, 18 T.P., I.A. ad L., H.S., G.C. E. 72 (2)	HW 41 N-4 M. 675 and f. 222 CM Mc E. B-3	.See Ch. III n. 25; IV nn. 14, 16a, 42a.
Niksar		Neo Caesarea	G. 488 40°36' × 36°58'	U. 324 D IV	

LOCALITY	VARIANTS	EQUIVALENTS	REFERENCES	MAPS	NOTES
Ninah . . . . .					.See Tortum.
Nineveh	Ninwē	Eski Mosul	E. 72	E. D-5 HW 10b C-1	
Ninwē . . . . .					.See Nineveh.
Nisibis		Antioch of Mygdonia Mebin Nusaybin	T.P.	HW 41 O-5 M 770-771 and 741 f. 241 CM Pf	
Nisus . . . . .					.See Nyssa.
Nize		Nyssa ?	G. 489 38°46' × 35°41'	U. 341 B IV	
Nkan	Nagan			AA 106	.See Ch. XI n. 60.
Np'rkert	Np'ret Neferkert	Martyropolis Tigranakert Miyafarkin	E. 73	E. G-4 AA 106	
Np'ret . . . . .					.See Np'rkert.
Nusaybin		Nisibis Mebin	G. 490 (4) 37°03' × 41°13'	U. 340 D II	
Nysa . . . . .					.See Nyssa.
Nyssa	Nisus Nysa	Nize ?	I.A.	M 661 and f. 217 CM He	.See Ch. IV n. 10a.
Oğnut	Elnut Olnut Olnuberd Olin	Elaņç	G. 492 39°08' × 40°53'	U. 340 A II	
Okbas . . . . .					.See Akbas.
*Okena . . . . .					.See Kena.
Okhda . . . . .					.See Otha.
Ołakan	Ołkan	Olanē Akçan Aχkan	E. 74	E. G-4	T. 209. .See Ch. I n. 30; XI nn. 32, 37.

LOCALITY	VARIANTS	EQUIVALENTS	REFERENCES	MAPS	NOTES
Olanē . . . . .					.See Olakan.
Oleoberda	Uleoy berd		T.P. E. 73	M. 679 and 680 f. 223 E. G-6	
Olin . . . . .					.See Oğnut.
Oikan . . . . .					.See Olakan.
Oinu berd . . . . .					.See Oğnut.
Olnut . . . . .					.See Oğnut.
Olotoedariza		Aladarariza ? Caleorsissa ? Lytararizōn ?	I.A., N.D. E. 32	M 675 and 645 f. 212 E. B-3 CM Mc	.See Ch. V n. 15.
Olti . . . . .					.See Oltu.
Oltu	Olti		G. 493 40°33' × 41°59'	U. 324 C III AA 108	
Ordru . . . . .					.See Ordu.
Ordu	Ordru				.See Ortuzu.
Orjnhaı . . . . .					.See Oşnak.
Oromandos			P. V, vi, 18 E. 75	E. G-2	
Orsa		Horsana Osdara ?	P. V, vi, 20		.See Ch. IV nn. 25,28b.
Ortu . . . . .					.See Ortuzu.
Ortuzu	Ortu	Ordu ?	G. 500 (1) 39°55' × 41°33'		.See Ch. I n. 39.
Oşakan		Aşnak			T. 197. .See Ch. XI nn. 9, 9a, 10, 16.
Osdara		Orsa ?	I.A. E. 74	M. 736 and f. 237 E. G-2 CM Le	.See Ch. IV nn. 25,28d.
Oşnak		Orjnhaı	G. 501 40°40' × 41°24'	U. 324 C III	

LOCALITY	VARIANTS	EQUIVALENTS	REFERENCES	MAPS	NOTES
Otha		Okhda ?	G. 501 40°35' × 41°39'	U. 324 C III	<i>See</i> Ch. I n. 42.
Palin		Bağın Palios kastron	G.C. E. 76	E. G-3	<i>See</i> Ch. III nn. 2-3.
Palios kastron					<i>See</i> Palin.
Palu		Balu Baïoulouos	G. 505 38°42' × 39°57'	U. 340 A IV	
Partaw		Berdaa	E. 77	E. B-7	T. 476 n. 169, 484.
P'aytakaran		Phatakaranēs			<i>See</i> Ch. IX n. 13b.
Pekeriç		Bagayarið	G. 509 39°43' × 40°13'	U. 340 A I	
Peri			G. 510 38°51' × 39°42'	U. 340 A IV	
Pertek		Pistek ? Pistik	W. 250		<i>See</i> Ch. II n. 19.
Petra					<i>See</i> Ch. I n. 46a; III n. 30.
Petrios					<i>See</i> Ch. VI n. 32c.
Pharnacia					<i>See</i> Pharnakia.
Pharnakia	Pharnacia				<i>See</i> Ch. IV n. 1.
Phathachōn		Thathax Fatax			<i>See</i> Ch. I n. 21a.
Pheison	Phison	Fis			<i>See</i> Ch. I n. 20.
Phison.					<i>See</i> Pheison.
Phitar	Phittur Phtr Pitar	Fittar			<i>See</i> Ch. II n. 6.
Phittur					<i>See</i> Phitar.
Phtr					<i>See</i> Phitar.
Phuphagena			P. V, vi, 18		
Phuphena			P. V, vi, 20		<i>See</i> Ch. IV n. 23.

NAME	VARIANT	EQUIVALENT	REFERENCES	MAPS	NOTES
Piriz		P'rris	G. 514 39°50' × 40°08'	U. 340 A I	
Pirnabaşın . . . . .					.See Aziziye.
Pirnakaban . . . . .					.See Pirnakapan.
Pirnakapan	Pirnakaban Pirsnakapan	Brnakapan	G. 514 39°58' × 40°34'	U. 340 A I	
Pirsnakapan . . . . .					.See Pirnakapan.
Pisingara			P. V, vi, 18.		
Pisonos		Hasanbatrik	I.A.	M. 684	
Pistek . . . . .					.See Pertek.
Pitar . . . . .					.See Phitar.
Pithia	Thia	Pitiunt ?	I.A., N.D.	M. 681	.See Ch. V n. 19.
Pitiunt		Pithia ?	E. 77	E. A-4	
Pkoür . . . . .					.See Pürk.
Plasta		Elbistan	E. 78		
Polemonion			T.P.	M. 647 and 643 f. 211 CM Lb	.See Ch. IV n. 42a; VII n. 18.
Porpēs	Borbas	Xaraba-Barbas Jiwnakert Harabe köy ?			.See Ch. I n. 33.
ad Praetorium	Praetorio	Hasançelesi	I.A., T.P. E. 31	E. G-2 M. 684	.See Ch. V n. 10.
P'rris		Piriz			.See Ch. III n. 8.
Ptandari		Tanadaris Tanir ?	P. V, vi, 22 I.A. E. 78	CM Ke M. 736 E. G-2	
Pum . . . . .					.See Fum.
Pürk	Pürko	Nikopolis	G. 518 40°08' × 38°09'	U. 324 D III	
Pydna . . . . .					.See Fidi.
Qaghyzman . . . . .					.See Kağızman.

LOCALITY	VARIANTS	EQUIVALENTS	REFERENCES	MAPS	NOTES
Qitriz . . . . .					.See Kit'arič.
Refahiye . . . . .					.See Gercanis.
Rhandea . . . . .					.See Rhandeia.
Rhandeia	Rhandea	Erand			.See Ch. II n. 18b.
Rhizaion	Rizon	Rize	E. 79	E. B-4	.See Ch. III nn. 28a, 30.
	Rhizus			AA 106	
				CM Ob	
Rhizus. . . . .					.See Rhizaion.
Rize		Rhizaion	G. 522 41°02' × 40°31'	U. 324 C I	
Rint . . . . .					.See Elind.
Rizon . . . . .					.See Rhizaion.
Rumluk . . . . .					.See Leri.
Saba . . . . .					.See Sabus.
Sabus	Saba	Şepik	I.A., T.P.	M. 682 and 680 f. 223	
	Sabbu		N.D.	CM Md	
			E. 79	E. G-3	
Sadak		Satala	G. 524	U. 324 C IV	
		Sataı	40°03' × 39°36'		
Şahapiwan				AA 104	
Şahverdiyan			G. 527 38°34' × 40°35'		
Salamas				AA 106	
Salk'ora			E. 79	E. B-5	
				AA 106	
Salona . . . . .					.See Siluana.
Salonenica . . . . .					.See Siluana.
Samosata		Sumaysat	T.P., I.A.	M. 684 and f. 224	.See Ch. II n. 17.
				HW 21a F-2	

LOCALITY	VARIANTS	EQUIVALENTS	REFERENCES	MAPS	NOTES
Šamšat . . . . .					.See Arsamosata.
Samsun . . . . .					.See Djanik.
Šamšey . . . . .					.See Arsamosata.
Šamušat . . . . .					.See Arsamosata.
Šamuši . . . . .					.See Arsamosata.
Šamušia . . . . .					.See Arsamosata.
Šar		Komana Aurea	G. 534 (2) 38°20' × 36°19'	U. 340 B IV	
Saracik		Hispa	G. 534 (2) 38°52' × 38°40'	U. 341 B III	
Šarkişla		Arasaka ? Tonus	G. 540 39°21' × 36°26'	U. 341 B I	
Sarsapa	Sarsapi . . . . .				.See Uarsapa.
Sarsapiōn kastron	. . . . .				.See Uarsapa.
Sataĭ		Satala Sadak	E. 80	E. B-3	
Satala	S Ataleni	Sataĭ Sadak	P. V, vi, 18 T.P., I.A. ad L., H.S., G.C.	CM Nc M. 676 and 646 f. 212	See Ch. III nn. 25, IV n. 42a.
S Ataleni . . . . .					.See Satala.
Šawaršam . . . . .					.See Maku.
Schamalinichōn		Zimla			See Ch. III nn. 26a, 27.
Sebaste . . . . .					.See Sebasteia.
Sebasteia	Sebaste Sevastia Sivastia	Sivas	I.A., T.P. ad L., H.S., G.C. E. 80	M. 730 and f. 234 CM Ld E. G-2	See Ch. III n. 25; IV nn. 5, 42a.
Sebastopolis		Sulusaray	P. V, vi, 4 N.D., I.A. ad L., H.S., G.C. E. 80 (2)	CM Kd M. 674-675, f. 222 E. G-2	See Ch. IV nn. 5, 42a; V n. 19.

LOCALITY	VARIANTS	EQUIVALENTS	REFERENCES	MAPS	NOTES
Şebinkarahisar		Koloneia	G. 544 40°20' × 38°25'	U. 324 D III	
Seleobereia			P. V, vi, 18		
Şepik	Şipik	Sabus	G. 550 39°06' × 38°32'		
Sereseikia . . . . .					.See Şarkışla.
Sevastia . . . . .					.See Sebasteia.
Sewanaberd		Seyvan kale		AA 106	
Seyvan kale		Sewanaberd	G. 557 (1) 38°33' × 43°40'	U. 340 B IV	.See Ch. XI n. 60.
Sheikh Selim . . . . .					.See Kitharizōn.
Kala					
Şikefti . . . . .					.See Der.
Siluana		Salona	T.P., N.D.	M. 682 and 646 f. 212	.See Ch. V n. 16.
		Salonenica			
		Süle ?			
Silvan . . . . .					.See Miyafarkin.
Şimşat . . . . .					.See Arsamosata.
Sinara . . . . .					.See Sinera.
Sinekli . . . . .					.See Sinikli.
Sinera	Sinerva		P. V, vi, 18	CM Md	
	Sinara		T.P.	M. 680 f. 223	
Sinerva . . . . .					.See Sinera.
Sinikli	Sinekli	Siniscolon ?	G. 562 38°46' × 38°35'	U. 341 B III	
Siniscolon		Sinikli ?	P. V, vi, 21		
Sinna . . . . .					.See Zintha.
Sinope			T.P.	M. 644 and 642 f. 210 HW 21 a F-1 AA 104 CM Ja	

LOCALITY	VARIANTS	EQUIVALENTS	REFERENCES	MAPS	NOTES
Şipik . . . . .					.See Şepik.
Şirakawan		Baş Soragyal	E. 74	E. B-5	.See Ch. XI n. 3.
		Başsüreğel		AA 106	
Şiri	Şirin	Şirinan ?			.See Ch. III nn. 6, 9.
	Şirni				
Şirinan	Şirnan	Şiri ?	G. 564	U. 340 A I	
			39°08' × 40°35'		
Şirnan . . . . .					.See Şirinan.
Şirni . . . . .					.See Şiri.
Sisilia			N.D.		
Sisilissôn		Ziziola ?			.See Ch. III nn. 27, 31c-d.
Sismara			P. V, vi, 18		
Sivas		Sebasteia	G. 565	U. 341 B-1	
			39°45' × 37°02'		
Sivastia					.See Sebasteia.
Spunios					.See Ch. IV n. 23.
Suissa			I.A.	M. 675-676	
				CM Nd	
Süle		Siluana ?	G. 574 (2)	U. 324 C IV	
			40°25' × 39°44'		
Suluk			G. 576 (2)	U. 340 A III	.See Ch. XI n. 37.
			38°51' × 41°32'		
Sumaysat . . . . .					.See Samosata.
Sulusaray		Sebastopolis	G. 576 (2)		
			38°42' × 34°44'		
Surb Karapet. . . . .					.See Bagawan.
Sürmene	Susurmenē	Usiportus	G. 578 (1)	U. 324 C IV	
		Humurgân	40°55' × 40°07'		
		Arakli ?			
Susarmia . . . . .					.See Susurmenē.

LOCALITY	VARIANTS	EQUIVALENTS	REFERENCES	MAPS	NOTES
Suşehri . . . . .					.See Endires.
Susurmenē	Susarmia	Sürmene			.See Ch. III n. 28a.
Tablariensis			N.D.		
Tabriz	Tawriz			AA 106	
Tahtakiran			G. 581 40°53' × 42°36'	U. 324 C III	.See Ch. XI n. 3b.
Takht i Suleiman . . . . .					.See Ganjak.
Takhtuk . . . . .					.See Tutmaç.
Tanadaris . . . . .					.See Ptandari.
Tanir		Tanadaris ? Ptandari ?	G. 583 (2) 37°52' × 36°41'	U. 341 C I	
Tapura . . . . .					.See Tephrikē.
Taranta		Derende	E. 85	E. G-2 CM Le	
Tateonk'		Diyadin	E. 85	E. G-5	.See Ch. XI n. 22.
Tawriz . . . . .					.See Tabriz.
Tephrikē	Abrik Tevrik Tapura Teucila ?	Divrigi	P. V, vi, 20 E. 86	E. G-3	
Teucila	Teucira *Teurica	Divrigi ?	I.A.	M. 682 CM Md	
Teucira . . . . .					.See Teucila.
*Teurica . . . . .					.See Teucila.
Tevrik . . . . .					.See Tephrikē.
Thathax . . . . .					.See Phathachōn.
Theodosiopolis		Karin Erzurum		HW 43 O-5 CM Pd	.See C. III n. 26; VI n. 28f.
Thia . . . . .					.See Pithia.
Thilenzit . . . . .					.See Tilenzit.

LOCALITY	VARIANTS	EQUIVALENTS	REFERENCES	MAPS	NOTES
Tigranakert	Tigranokerta Tigranocarten	Martyropolis Np'rkert Miyafarkin	T.P.	M. 746 and 738 f. 239 HW 20a E-2 CM Oe ? Of ?	<i>See</i> Ch. I n. 10.
Tigranocarten					<i>.See</i> Tigranakert.
Tigranokerta					<i>.See</i> Tigranakert.
Til		Tilenzit	G. 598 (4) 38°49' × 39°18' E. 36	U. 340 A IV	<i>See</i> Ch. III nn. 1, 5
Tilenzit	Thilenzit	Til Anzita			<i>See</i> Ch. II n. 11a.
Timur agha					<i>See</i> Ch. I n. 22b.
Tizbon	Tispon	Ctesiphon	E. 23	AA 104.	
Tokat	Tokatli		G. 601 40°19' × 36°34'	U. 324 D IV	
Tokatli					<i>.See</i> Tokat.
Tonosa		Tonus	I.A.	M. 730 CM Kd	
Tonus		Tonosa Şarkışla	G. 602 (5) 39°21' × 36°26'	U. 341 B I	
T'ordan		Tortan	E. 53	E. G-3 AA 106	<i>See</i> Ch. III n. 1; XII n. 48.
Tortan		T'ordan	G. 604 (1) 39°40' × 39°09'	U. 340 A I	
Tortum		Ninah	G. 604 40°19' × 41°35'	U. 324 C III AA 108	
Trabzon	Trebizond	Trapezos	G. 605 41°00' × 39°43'	U. 324 C I	
Trapezos	Trapezunta	Trabzon	T.P., I.A. N.D.	M. 647-648, and 645 f. 212 CM Nb	<i>See</i> Ch. III nn. 28, 30.
Trapezunta					<i>.See</i> Trapezos.

LOCALITY	VARIANTS	EQUIVALENTS	REFERENCES	MAPS	NOTES
Trebizond		Trapezos Trabzon	E. 86	E. B-7 AA 106	
Tutmaç	Tutmadj	Takhtuk Blandos	G. 609 $39^{\circ}32' \times 37^{\circ}11'$		<i>See</i> Ch. IV n. 22.
Tutmadj					<i>.See</i> Tutmaç.
T'uxars					<i>.See</i> Hars.
Tuy					<i>.See</i> Du.
Tuzluca					<i>.See</i> Kulp.
Tzanzakōn		Zavzoka			<i>See</i> Ch. III nn. 27, 32.
Tzumina		Cimin	E. 57	E. G-3 AA 106	<i>See</i> Ch. III n. 26; VI n. 30.
Ualentia			N.D.		
Uarsapa	Varsapa Varpasa	Arabissos ? Sarsapa ?	P. V, vi, 18		<i>See</i> Ch. IV n. 28b.
Uļōoy berd					<i>.See</i> Oleoberda.
Urumya khan	Erumya				<i>See</i> Ch. IV n. 18a.
Valarsākert		Hasankale	E. 81	E. G-5 AA 106	<i>See</i> Ch. I n. 41.
Valarsāpat		Kainepolis	E. 82	E. B-6	<i>See</i> Ch. V nn. 10a,19.
Vardanakert			E. 83	E. G-7 AA 106	
Vardašēn	Vardišēn			AA 106	
Vardenik		Vartinik		AA 106	
Vardišēn					<i>.See</i> Vardašēn.
Varissa					<i>.See</i> Verise.
Varpasa					<i>.See</i> Uarsapa.
Varsapa					<i>.See</i> Uarsapa.
Vartinik		Vardenik	G. 621 $40^{\circ}15' \times 40^{\circ}40'$	U. 324 C IV	
Vereuso			T.P.	M. 682 and 680 f. 223	

LOCALITY	VARIANTS	EQUIVALENTS	REFERENCES	MAPS	NOTES
Verise	Varissa	Berissa	I.A.	M. 674 and 675 f. 222 CM Kc	
Vican	Vidjan Vizana Vižan	Bizana	W. 249	U. 340 A I	
Vidjan . . . . .					. See Vican.
Vizana . . . . .					. See Vican.
Vižan		Bizana	E. 83	E. G-4 AA 106	
Vizana . . . . .					. See Vican.
Xač		Haçköy Bazmalbiwr			. See Ch. III nn. 6, 10.
Xaldoy arič	Galtarič Xalto arič Kiaghid aridj	Kağdariç		AA 105	. See Ch. III n. 11.
Xalçal . . . . .					. See Xilçil.
Xaraba-Barbas	Charaba Borbas	Porpēs	E. 63		. See Ch. I n. 33.
Xarberd	Hare bert Hore berd Hart Bert	Harput H̄isn Ziyad ?		AA 106	
Xaχ		Hahi ?			. See Ch. III n. 1.
Xer . . . . .					. See H̄er.
Xilçil	Xalçal				. See Ch. IX n. 21.
Xnunik*					. See Xnus.
Xnus	Xnunik* Hinis			AA 108	
Xoy		Xer H̄er		AA 108	

LOCALITY	VARIANTS	EQUIVALENTS	REFERENCES	MAPS	NOTES
Xozan		Hozat ?	E. 55	E. E-4 AA 106	
Xram					Unidentifiable.
Yarimca		Arsamosata	G. 630 (6) 38°39' × 39°46'	U. 340 A IV	
Yarpuz	Yarpus . . . . .				. See Afşin.
Yaštišat . . . . .					. See Aštišat.
Ysiportus	Yssu limēn	Sürmene	N.D. P.V, vi, 5		. See Ch. V n. 18.
Zağki		Calik	G. 657 40°12' × 41°29'	U. 324 C III	. See Ch. I nn. 38c 39.
Zalichos		Leontopolis		CM Jb	. See Ch. VII n. 18.
Zara			I.A. G. 658 (4) 39°55' × 37°46'	CM Id U. 341 B II	
Zarehawan of Całkotn			E. 52 (3)	E. G-5 AA 106	T. 309, 310 n. 32. . See Ch. XI n. 23.
Zela			T.P. N. XXXI	M. 679 and 675 f. 222 HW 41 N-4 CM Jc	
Zenjān		Jenzan ?		AA 105	
Zenocopi			T.P.	M. 682 and 680 f. 223	
Zerran . . . . .					. See Gever.
Ziata		Anzita		CM Ne	
		Hişn Ziyād		AA 106	
Zigana			N.D. G. 661 40°37' × 39°20'	AA 106 U. 324 C IV CM Ne	. See Ch. III n. 33.
Zimara			P. V, vi, 18 T.P., I.A.	CM Md M. 679 and 680 f. 223	

LOCALITY	VARIANTS	EQUIVALENTS	REFERENCES	MAPS	NOTES
Zimla	Zimlakova	Schamalinichōn	G. 662 39°29' × 38°21' E. 52 G. 662 40°46' × 39°59'	U. 341 B II E. G-3 U. 324 C IV	
Zintha		Sinna ? Zindu ?	E. 52	E. D-6	<i>See</i> Ch. IX nn. 29, 29a.
Ziziola		Sisilissōn ?	T.P., I.A. N.D.	M. 676 and 645 f. 212	
Zoana			I.A.	M. 675	
Zok		Garzan	G. 664 (1) 38°02' × 41°33'	U. 340 A III	
Zoropassos		Koropassos		CM Ie	<i>See</i> Ch. IV n. 10a.

C. MOUNTAINS - PLAINS

The following abbreviations were used in this section in addition to those previously given :

M. mountain.
P. plain.

NAME	VARIANT	EQUIVALENT	REFERENCES	MAPS	NOTES
Abēš Mts.		Şerefiye	G. 2 40°08' × 37°47'	U. 324 D III	Coordinates given for town no mountains indicated by this name in Gazetteer.
Abus M.		Ararat ?		CM Pd	See Ch. III n. 19a.
Ağri dağı					See Ararat.
Ala dağı		Çalkē	G. 26 (2) 39°20' × 43°35'	U. 340 B I	
Alagöz.					See Aragac.
Aleluya P.		"Fair Plain" Xarberd P. Olu ovasi Harpur P. Kalopedion			See Ch. II nn. 12, 16.
Anti Taurus M.			E. 36	E. G-2 CM O-Pe	
Aragac M.		Alagöz	E. 38	E. B-6 AA 7	
Ararat M.		Masis Ağri dağı Abus ? Nibarus ?	G. 40 39°40' × 44°24' E. 31	U. 340 B II AA 7 E. G-6	See also P'ok'r Masis.
Araxenōn pedion		Ersxajor			See Ch. XI n. 2, also Provinces: Aršarunik'.
Argaeus M.		Erciyas dağı		CM Ie	

NAME	VARIANT	EQUIVALENT	REFERENCES	MAPS	NOTES
Arnas dağı	Arnos		G. 44 37°59' × 42°58' E. 37	U. 340 C I E. D-5	
Arnos . . . . .					.See Arnas dağı.
Ayc Ptkunk' M.		Gohanam Palandöken M. Şolalar	E. 35	E. G-4	.See Ch. I n. 34; VI n. 44.
Azat Masis M. . . . .					.See Ararat.
Bağirbaba dağı	Bağirpasa dağı	Paçr M.	G. 68 39°30' × 40°06'	U. 340 A I	
Bağirpasa dağı . . . . .					.See Bağirbaba dağı.
Bakireyn Tunnel					.See Ch. I n. 23.
Barçal . . . . .					.See Parhar.
Belhan M.					.See Ch. II n. 12a.
Bingöl dağları		Srmanç M.	G. 97 39°20' × 41°20'	U. 340 A II	
Bolhar. . . . .					.See Parhar.
Brnakapan pass		Pirnakapan	E. 46	E. B-4	.See also Cities: Prnakapan.
Caikawet M.		Dümlü dağı	E. 36	E. B-4	
Caikē . . . . .					.See Ala dağı.
Çamlibel dağları			G. 125 39°57' × 36°31'	U. 341 B I	
Capotes M.				CM Pc	.See Ch. III n. 12b.
Cevtla M. . . . .					.See Çotela Akçakara M.
Chaldean P. . . . .					.See Xaldoy jor.
Çimen dağı			G. 152 39°56' × 39°15'	U. 340 A I	
Cip'an . . . . .					.See Sip'an.
Ciraneaç M.		Kandil M.	E. 56	E. B-4	
Clisuræ . . . . .					.See Kleisurai.
Çotela Akçakara dağı		Cevtla	G. 161 (15) 38°40' × 40°52'	U. 340 A III	

NAME	VARIANT	EQUIVALENT	REFERENCES	MAPS	NOTES
Darkosh M.		Kurtik M. ?			<i>See</i> Ch. I n. 22a.
Dava boyun M.					<i>See</i> Deveboynu dağları.
Deveboynu dağları		Dava boyun M.			<i>See</i> Ch. I n. 38b.
Dumanlı dağı			G. 197 (6) 39°42' × 40°45'		
Dümlü dağı		Çalkawet M.	G. 197 40°12' × 41°15'	U. 324 C III	
Erasxajor					<i>See</i> Araxenōn pedion.
Erciyas dağı		Argaeus	G. 211 38°32' × 35°28'		
"Fair Plain"		Kalopedion			<i>See</i> Aleluya P.
Gargar P.			E. 46	E. G-8	<i>See</i> Ch. XIV nn. 75-76.
Garnijor M.		Giresur M.	E. 46	E. G-6	<i>See</i> Ch. XI n. 57.
Gaylaḫazut M.					<i>See</i> Paḫr M.
Giresur M.					<i>See</i> Garnijor M.
Gohanam M.	Kohanam M. Goan	Kara dağı Sepuh M. Solalar Maneay ayrk' ? Ayc Ptkunk'			<i>See</i> Ch. III n. 4; VI nn. 43-44.
Gure M.					<i>See</i> Ch. XI p. 248.
Haç dağı	Xaç M.		G. 261 (2) 39°32' × 40°28'		
Haçreş dağları		Khandosh M.	G. 267 38°38' × 40°28'		
Halhal					<i>See</i> Harhal M.
Halōras					<i>See</i> Olōray.
Halūris					<i>See</i> Olōray.
Harhal dağı		Xalḫal M. Meledux M.	G. 276 39°27' × 40°56'		

NAME	VARIANT	EQUIVALENT	REFERENCES	MAPS	NOTES
Harput P.					.See Aleluya P.
Hart ovasi					.See Cities: Hart.
Hawasor					.See Hayoç jor.
Hayoç jor	Hawasor		E. 62	E. G-5	
Illyrisum pass			Aed. III, iii, 4		
Izala M.					.See Masios M.
Jorayn koys					.See Kleisurai.
Kalopedion					.See Aleluya P.
Kandil dağı		Ciraneaç M.	G. 330 (3) 40°11' × 41°35'		
Kara dağı		Gohanam M. Sepuh M. Maneay ayrk' ?	G. 342 (28) 39°45' × 39°13'	U. 340 A I	
Kara Tonus M.				U. 341 B I	
Karasakal dağı		Kazikli M. ?	G. 355 39°20' × 39°38'		
Karayazi ovasi	Karayazi kazasi	Towarcatap'	G. 359 39°35' × 42°05'		.See Ch. XI n. 53.
Karer M.					.See Kârir dağı.
Karga bazar M.					.See Kargapazari dağı.
Kargapazari dağı		Karga bazar M.	G. 360 40°07' × 41°35'	U. 324 C III	
Kârir dağı		Koher M. Karer M.	G. 361 39°05' × 40°40'	U. 340 A I	
Kazikli M.					.See Küçükgöl dağı and Karasakal dağı.
Keraunian Caucasus					.See Šant'ayin M.
Keşiş dağları			G. 383 39°50' × 39°45'	U. 340 A I	
Khalkhal M.					.See Harhal dağı.

NAME	VARIANT	EQUIVALENT	REFERENCES	MAPS	NOTES
Khandosh M. Kirklar tepesi		Mazgirt M.	G. 395 39°03' × 39°37'		.See Haçreş dağları.
Kleissrai	Klesurk' Clisurae	Jorayn kays Rahva pass	E. 59	E. G-4	.See Ch. I nn. 20-23; IX n. 24. .See also Kop daği.
Klesurk'					.See Kleisurai.
Kohanam					.See Gohanam M.
Koher M.					.See Kârîr daği.
Kohi Nihorakan			E. 59	E. D-6	.See Ch. IX n. 34a.
Kolat dağları			G. 413 40°36' × 39°35'	U. 324 C IV	
Kop daği			G. 416 40°01' × 40°28'		.See also Kleisurai.
Köse daği			G. 421 (1) 40°06' × 37°58'	U. 324 D III	
Küçükgöl daği		Kazikli M. ?	G. 430 39°19' × 39°44'		
Kurtik M.					.See Darkosh M.
Lesser Ararat					.See P'ok'r Masis.
Maneay ayrk'					.See Sepuh M.
Masios	Masius	Izala M.	E. 65	E. D-4	
Masis	Azat Masis				.See Ararat.
Masius					.See Masios.
Mazgirt M.					.See Kirklar M. Not to be confused with Manaz- kert.
Meledux M.		Harhal daği	E. 70	E. G-4	.See Ch. I n. 34.
Misfinâ M.					.See Ch. II n. 19c.
Movkan dašt					.See Mułani dašt.
Mughan P.					.See Mułani dašt.

NAME	VARIANT	EQUIVALENT	REFERENCES	MAPS	NOTES
Mułani dašt	Movkan dašt	Mughan P.	E. 71	E. G-8	
Munzur sisilesi		Muzur M.	G. 479	U. 340 A I	
			$39^{\circ}30' \times 39^{\circ}10'$		
			E. 71	E. G-3	
Muşar daği			G. 481		
			$38^{\circ}37' \times 38^{\circ}25'$		
Muzur . . . . .					.See Munzur M.
Navşan pass	Navarshan dere				.See Ch. I n. 33a.
Nemrut daği			G. 487	U. 340 A III	
			$38^{\circ}40' \times 42^{\circ}12'$		
Neḫ Masik' M.		Sip'an M.	E. 72	E. G-5	.See Ch. XI n. 50.
		Süphan daği			
Nibarus M. . . . .					.See Ararat.
Nimrud M. . . . .					.See Nemrut daği.
Niphates M.		Npatakan M.	P. V, xii, 1		
Npatakan M.	Npat	Niphates M.	E. 72-73	E. G-5	
Olor . . . . .					.See Olöray.
Olöray	Olor	Halōras			.See Ch. I n. 22.
		Halûras			
		Holûris			
Olu ovasi . . . . .					.See Aleluya P.
Palandöken daği		Ayc Ptkunk' M.	G. 504		.See Ch. In. 34.
			$39^{\circ}47' \times 41^{\circ}15'$		
Parhal . . . . .					.See Parhar M.
Parhar M.	Parhal	Paryadres M.	E. 77	E. B-4	.See Ch. I nn. 43a, 45.
	Parḫar				
	Barḫal				
Parḫar . . . . .					.See Parhar.
Paryadres M.		Parhar M.		CM L-Ne	T. 445, 450-452.
Paḫir M.		Bağirbaba daği	E. 76	E. G-4	
		Gaylaḫazut M.			

NAME	VARIANT	EQUIVALENT	REFERENCES	MAPS	NOTES
P'ok'r Masis M.		Lesser Ararat M.	E. 89	E. G-6	
Rahva pass . . . . .					.See Kleisurai.
Salbüs dağı		Sipilus M.	G. 529		
		Surb Luys M.	39°17' × 40°00'		
Salin M.		Salnoy M.	E. 79	E. G-4	
Salnoy M. . . . .					.See Salin M.
Šant'ayin M.		Keraunian	E. 73		
		Caucasus M.			
Saphchae pass			Aed. III, iii, 4		
Sarıçiçek yaylası				U. 341 B II	The coordinates given in G. 537 do no fit the indicated location between Arapkir and Divrigi.
Šarur P.			E. 73, 118	E. G-6	
Sasun M.			E. 79	E. G-4	
Sebouh . . . . .					.See Sepuh.
Sepuh M.	Sebouh	Kara dağı	E. 80	E. G-3	
		Gohanam M.			
		Maneay ayrk' ?			
Şerefiye . . . . .					.See Abeş.
Sinibel M.					.See Ch. IV n. 16f.
Sip'an M.	Cip'an . . . . .				.See Neş Masik'.
Sipikör dağı		Surb Grigor M.	G. 563	U. 340 A I	
			39°52' × 39°35'		
Sipilus		Salbüs dağı ?		CM	
		Surb Luys M.			
Šoalalar M. . . . .					.See Aye Ptkunk'.
Srmanç M.		Bingöl dağları	E. 80	E. G-4	.See Ch. I n. 34.
Sübhan . . . . .					.See Süphan dağı.
Süphan dağı	Sübhan dağı	Sip'an M.	G. 577	U. 340 B IV	
		Neş Masik' M.	38°54' × 42°48'		
Surb Grigor M. . . . .					.See Sipikör dağı.

NAME	VARIANT	EQUIVALENT	REFERENCES	MAPS	NOTES
Surb Luys M.					.See Salbüs daği.
Surb Nšan M.					.See Top daği.
Taurus M.		Toros dağları		CM Jf-Kc	
Tecer daği			G. 589 $39^{\circ}27' \times 37^{\circ}11'$	U. 341 B I	
Tendürek daği		T'ondrak M.	G. 593 $39^{\circ}22' \times 43^{\circ}55'$	U. 340 B I	
T'ondrak M.		Tendürek daği	E. 53	E. G-5	
Top daği		Surb Nšan M.			.See Ch. VI n. 42.
Toros dağları		Taurus	G. 588 $37^{\circ}00' \times 33^{\circ}00'$		
Xaç M.					.See Haç daği.
Xaldoy jor		Chaldean P.	E. 55	E. B-4	
Xalçal					.See Harhal daği.
Xar dašt					.See Xëranken dašt.
Xarberd P					.See Aleluya P.
Xerakan dašt		Xar dašt	E. 63	E. G-6	
Zagros M.				AA 104	
Zigana sirdağları			G. 661 $40^{\circ}37' \times 39^{\circ}30'$ E. 52	HW-11c E. B-3	

D. RIVERS - LAKES - SEAS

The following abbreviations were used in this section in addition to those previously given :

L. lake.
R. river.
S. sea.

NAME	VARIANT	EQUIVALENT	REFERENCES	MAPS	NOTES
Abrik R. . . . .					.See Ch. IV n. 19.
Acampsis . . . . .					.See Akampsis.
Adzharis Tskali R.		Çxenis Çlali R. Adzho R. Bzang R.		U. 324 C II AA 6	
Adzho R. . . . .					.See Adzharis Tskali R.
Akampsis	Acampsis Akamsis	Boas R. Çoruh nehri Voh R.	E. 32	E. B-4 AA 104 CM Oc	
Akamsis . . . . .					.See Akampsis.
Ak çayi . . . . .					.See Tmut R.
Ak çayi II . . . . .					.See Çowarş rod.
Akhurean R. . . . .					.See Aḫuryan R.
Aksar deresi		Pulat dere	G. 22 40°05' × 38°12'	U. 324 D III	Coordinates given are for locality. See also Pülk çayi.
Alis R. . . . .					.See Halys R.
Angu R.		Arapkir çayi Gortuk			See Ch. IV nn. 19a-20.
Aracani R.	Arsanias R.	Euphrates R. Murat nehri	E. 38	E. G-5 AA 6	
Araks R. . . . .					.See Araxes R.
Arapkir çayi . . . . .					.See Angu.

NAME	VARIANT	EQUIVALENT	REFERENCES	MAPS	NOTES
Aras nehri		Araxes R.	G. 41 39°56' × 48°20'	U. 324 D IV	
Araxes R.	Araks R.	Aras nehri Eğri R. Erasx R. Murç R.	E. 38-39, 50	E. G4-G7 AA 6, 105 CM Pc	
Arçışak L.	Arçak	Erçek gölü	E. 39-40	E. G-5 AA 105	See Ch. XI n. 56.
Arçışak R. Ardanuç R.			G. 41 41°05' × 42°05'	U. 324 C II	See Mehmedik R. The coordinates given are for the locality and district.
Arethusa	Aretissa				See p. 460 n. 56.
Arghana su					See Maden suyu.
Arpa çayı		Axuryan R. Rah R.	G. 44 40°06' × 43°44'	U. 325 D IV	
Arsanas					See Arsantias.
Arsantias R.	Arsanas Aracani	Euphrates R. Murat nehri		AA 107 HW 10a D-2	
Askar deresi					See Aksar deres .
Axuryan R.	Akhurean R.	Arpa çayı Rah R. Kars R.	E. 32	E. B-5 AA 107	
Azat R.		Garni çay	E. 31	E. B-6 AA 7	
Bala rud					See Balan rot.
Balan rot	Bala rud Balas rot		E. 44	E. G-8	See Bolgara çay.
Balas rot					See Balan rot.
Batmansuyu		Nymphios R. Kalirt'	G. 81 37°45' × 41°00'	U. 340 D II	

D. RIVERS - LAKES - SEAS

The following abbreviations were used in this section in addition to those previously given :

L. lake.
R. river.
S. sea.

NAME	VARIANT	EQUIVALENT	REFERENCES	MAPS	NOTES
Abrik R. . . . .					.See Ch. IV n. 19.
Acampsis . . . . .					.See Akampsis.
Adzharis Tskali R.		Çxenis Çlali R. Adzho R. Bzang R.		U. 324 C II AA 6	
Adzho R. . . . .					.See Adzharis Tskali R.
Akampsis	Acampsis Akamsis	Boas R. Çoruh nehri Voh R.	E. 32	E. B-4 AA 104 CM Oc	
Akamsis . . . . .					.See Akampsis.
Ak çayi . . . . .					.See Tımut R.
Ak çayi II . . . . .					.See Çowarş rod.
Akhurean R. . . . .					.See Aḫuryan R.
Aksar deresi		Pulat dere	G. 22 40°05' × 38°12'	U. 324 D III	Coordinates given are for locality. See also Pülk çayi.
Alis R. . . . .					.See Halys R.
Angu R.		Arapkir çayi Gortuk			See Ch. IV nn. 19a-20.
Aracani R.	Arsanias R.	Euphrates R. Murat nehri	E. 38	E. G-5 AA 6	
Araks R. . . . .					.See Araxes R.
Arapkir çayi . . . . .					.See Angu.

NAME	VARIANT	EQUIVALENT	REFERENCES	MAPS	NOTES
Aras nehri		Araxes R.	G. 41 39°56' × 48°20'	U. 324 D IV	
Araxes R.	Araks R.	Aras nehri Eğri R. Erasχ R. Murç R.	E. 38-39, 50	E. G4-G7 AA 6, 105 CM Pc	
Arčişak L.	Arčak	Erçek gölü	E. 39-40	E. G-5 AA 105	See Ch. XI n. 56.
Arčişak R.					See Mehmedik R.
Ardanuç R.			G. 41 41°05' × 42°05'	U. 324 C II	The coordinates given are for the locality and district.
Arethusa	Aretissa				See p. 460 n. 56.
Arghana su					See Maden suyu.
Arpa çayı		Ağuryan R. Rah R.	G. 44 40°06' × 43°44'	U. 325 D IV	
Arsanas					See Arsantias.
Arsantias R.	Arsanas Aracani	Euphrates R. Murat nehri		AA 107 HW 10a D-2	
Askar deresi					See Aksar deresi.
Ağuryan R.	Akhurean R.	Arpa çayı Rah R. Kars R.	E. 32	E. B-5 AA 107	
Azat R.		Garni çay	E. 31	E. B-6 AA 7	
Bala rud					See Balan rot.
Balan rot	Bala rud Balas rot		E. 44	E. G-8	See Bolgara çay.
Balas rot					See Balan rot.
Batmansuyu		Nymphios R. Kalirt'	G. 81 37°45' × 41°00'	U. 340 D II	

NAME	VARIANT	EQUIVALENT	REFERENCES	MAPS	NOTES
Bendimahi çayı			G. 89 38°55' × 43°35'	U. 340 B IV AA 7	
Berklinzülkarneynsuyu			G. 90 38°31' × 40°29'	U. 340 A IV	
Bingöl su		Harsanova suyu ?			See Ch. I n. 32a.
Boas					See Akampsis.
Bohtan su					See Botan çayı.
Bolgara çay		Balan fot	E. 44	E. G-8	See Ch. IX n. 13.
Botan çayı	Bohtan su	Kentrites R. Jerm R.	G. 103 37°44' × 41°48'	U. 340 D II	
Bolxa R.		Oltu çayı	E. 45	E. B-4	
Bulam L.					See Haçlı Gölü.
Bzang R.					See Adzharis Tskali R.
Bznunik' S.					See Van L.
Çalgar R.					See Ch. II n. 19d.
Çaltisuyu		Kangal su	G. 123 39°23' × 38°24'	U. 341 B II	See Ch. IV p. 68.
Caspian S.		Kaspiç S. Hyrkanian S.	E. 58	E. A. 8 - G-8	
Çekerek ırmağı		Scylax R.	G. 138 40°34' × 35°46'	U. 324 D IV	
Centritis					See Kentrites R.
Çeyhan nehri	Jaihun çayı	Pyramus R.	G. 145 36°45' × 35°45'	U. 341 C IV	
Çoruh nehri		Akampsis R. Boas R. Voh R.	G. 160 41°36' × 41°35'	U. 324 C III AA 6	
Covk' L.		Gölcük gölü	E. 57	E. G-3 AA 105	

NAME	VARIANT	EQUIVALENT	REFERENCES	MAPS	NOTES
Čowarš rod		Ak çayı II	E. 64	E. G-6 AA 105	<i>See</i> Ch. XI n. 61. <i>See also</i> Karmir R.
Çxenıs cıalı					<i>See</i> Adzharis Tskali.
Cyrus R.		Kura		HW 29a P-4	
Değirmen deresi		Pyxites R.	G. 173 (6) 41°00' × 39°46'	U. 324 C IV	
Dicle nehri					<i>See</i> Tigris R.
Dklat R.					<i>See</i> Tigris R.
Eğri R.					<i>See</i> Araxes R.
Elmalı deresi			G. 207 39°25' × 40°35'		<i>See</i> Ch. XI n. 53.
Ep'rat R.					<i>See</i> Euphrates R.
Erasx R.					<i>See</i> Araxes R.
Erçek gölü		Arčišak L.	G. 211 38°39' × 43°22'	U. 340 B IV	
Euphrates R.	Ep'rat R.	Arsanias R. Kara su çayı Murat nehri Firat nehri	E. 51	E. B-4 AA 6	
Firat nehri		Euphrates R.	G. 226 31°00' × 47°25'	U. 341 B III	
Gargar R.		Karkar R.	E. 46	E. G-7 AA 107	
Garıni çay		Azat R.		AA 105	
Gayl R.		Lykos R. Kelkit çayı	E. 46 (2)	E. B-2 AA 106	<i>See</i> Ch. III nn. 5, 24a.
Gelakuneaç S.					<i>See</i> Sevan L.
Gercanis R.			G. 234 39°54' × 38°44'		The coordinates given are for the locality.
Gernaoksuyu		Gernevik	G. 236 39°37' × 44°07'	U. 340 B I	

NAME	VARIANT	EQUIVALENT	REFERENCES	MAPS	NOTES
Gernevik . . . . .					.See Gernaoksuyu.
Geuljik L. . . . .					.See Gölcuk L.
Ginek R.		Göniksuyu	E. 47	E. G-4 AA 6	
Göksu nehri		Sarus R.	G. 244 (5) 36°20' × 34°05'	U. 341 D III	
Gölcuk L.	Geuljik Göljik	Hazar gölü Covk' L.	G. 246 38°30' × 39°25'	U. 340 A IV	
Göljik . . . . .					.See Gölcuk L.
Göneksuyu . . . . .					.See Göniksuyu.
Göniksuyu	Göneksuyu Gunig su	Ginek R.	G. 249 39°00' × 40°41'	U. 340 A II	See Ch. I n. 27.
Gortuk . . . . .					.See Angu R.
Great Zab . . . . .					.See Zab R.
Gümüşane deresi		Harmut su	G. 255 40°30' × 39°23'	U. 324 C IV	
Gunig su . . . . .					.See Göniksuyu.
Haçlı gölü		Bulam L.	G. 267 39°00' × 42°18'	U. 340 A II-III	
Halys R.	Alis R.	Kizil Irmak	E. 32, 63	E. B1-G2 CM Kd Hd Jd	See Ch. III n. 20.
Harabe deresi	Harbe	Menaskut R. ?	G. 275 38°56' × 40°56'	U. 340 A III	
Harmut su . . . . .					.See Gümüşane deresi.
Harşit deresi	Harşut R. Kharsut		G. 277 41°01' × 38°52'		
Hasanova suyu		Bingöl su ?	G. 280 39°11' × 41°06'	U. 340 A II	
Hayoç jor su . . . . .					.See Xoşab R.
Hazar gölü . . . . .					.See Gölcuk.

NAME	VARIANT	EQUIVALENT	REFERENCES	MAPS	NOTES
Hoşap		Xoşab R.	G. 295 38°20' × 43°46'	U. 340 B IV	Coordinates given are for the locality.
Hrazdan R.	Hurazdan R.	Zanga R.	E. 63	E. B-6 AA 7	
Hurazdan R. . . . .					.See Hrazdan R.
Hyrkanian S. . . . .					.See Caspian S.
Imerhav çayı	Imerhevi	Meruli	G. 306 41°17' × 42°13'	U. 324 C II	
			E. 73	E. B-5	
Iris R.		Yeşil ırmagi	E. 54	E. B-5 CM Kc	
Jaihun çayı . . . . .					.See Ceyhan nehri.
Jegam R.	Zegam				.See Azerbaijan Atlas 21 and Ch.
Jerm R.		Kentrites Botan çayı	E. 78	E. E-7	IX n. 21.
Kala-θ R. . . . .					.See K'alirt' R.
K'alirt' R.	Kala-θ	Nymphios R. Sit'it'ma R. Batmansuyu	E. 89	E. D4-G-4	.See Ch. I nn. 13, 14, 19.
Kangal su . . . . .					.See Çaltısuyu.
Kapudan S.	Kapautan S. . . . .				.See Urmiah L.
Kara su		Marmet R.	G. 356 (1) 38°32' × 43°10'	U. 340 B IV AA 6	
Kara su çayı		Euphrates R. Melas R.	G. 356 (3)	U. 340 A I	
		Firhat nehri	39°42' × 39°32'	AA 6	
Kara suyu		Meî R.	G. 356 (20) 38°49' × 41°28'	U. 340 A III	
Karabudak çayı			G. 337 39°28' × 38°32'	U. 341 B II	
Karadere su			G. 343 (12) 40°57' × 40°04'	U. 324 C IV	

NAME	VARIANT	EQUIVALENT	REFERENCES	MAPS	NOTES
Karkar R.					.See Gargar R.
Karmalas R.		Zamantisuyu ?			.See Ch. IV n. 7.
Karmir R.		Kötür R. Kotoroy R. Kizil çay	E. 58	G-6	.See also Čowarš rod.
K'asał R.				AA 7	
Keli . . . . .					.See Miws Gayl.
Kelkit çayı		Lykos R. Gayl R.	G. 378 40°46' × 36°32'	U. 324 D III AA 6	
Kentrites R.	Centritis	Botan çayı Jerm R.		CM Pf	
Khabur R.		Xabor R. K'abaros	E. 55 (1)	E. D-5	
Kizil çay . . . . .					.See Karmir R.
Kizil ırmak	Qyzyl Yрмаq	Halys	G. 270 41°45' × 35°59' H. 414 (4) 39°40' × 39°03'	U. 324 D I U. 340 A I	Coordinates given are for the locality.
Kömür çayı					.See Koroy jor.
Kor su.		Kor su	E. 61	E. G-5	
Koroy jor			E. 60	E. G-6	
Kotoroy R.	Kötür çayı			AA 7	
Kötür çayı	Kotoroy R.	Karmir R.		U. 340 A III	
Kulp su	Kulp dere				
Kur . . . . .					.See Kura R.
Kura R.	Kur	Cyrus R. Mtkvari R.	G. 437 39°24' × 49°19'	AA 6	
			E. 61	E. B5-G8	
Kuru çayı			G. 442 (8) 38°35' × 38°22'	U. 341 B III	
Lice . . . . .					.See Saromsuyu.
Ličik . . . . .					.See Perisuyu.
Limb . . . . .					.See Lumb.
Lumb R.	Limb R.				.See Ch. XI n. 60.

NAME	VARIANT	EQUIVALENT	REFERENCES	MAPS	NOTES
Lychnitis L. . . . .					.See Sevan L.
Lycus R. . . . .					.See Lykos R.
Lykos R.	Lycus R.	Gayl R. Kelkit çayı Arghana su		CM Lc U. 340 A IV	 The coordinates in G. 452 do not suit the indicated locality.
Maden suyu					.See Mehmedik.
Mahmedik çay					
Maku çay		Tehmut R. Zanginiardere		AA 7	
Maligir	Mirangir			U. 340 A III	
Mananali R.		Tuzlasuyu	E. 65	E. G-4 AA 105	
Marat . . . . .					.See Mrit.
Marmet R.		Mermenid R. Mermid R. Kara su	E. 65	E. G-5 AA 105	
Mec Zaw R. . . . .					.See Zab R.
Mehmedik deresi	Mahmedik çay Memedik deresi	Arçışak R.	E. 39	E. G-5 U. 340 B IV	
Mei R.		Teleboas R. Kara suyu	E. 70	E. G-4	
Memedik . . . . .					.See Mehmedik deresi.
Menaskut R.		Harbe deresi ?			.See Ch. I n. 32b.
Mermenid . . . . .					.See Marmet R.
Mermid . . . . .					.See Marmet R.
Meruli . . . . .					.See Imerhav çayı.
Mirangir . . . . .					.See Maligir R.
Miws Gayl R.	Mews Gayl	Keli R. Liçik R. Perisuyu	E. 70	E. G-4 AA 105	.See Ch. I nn. 25-26.

NAME	VARIANT	EQUIVALENT	REFERENCES	MAPS	NOTES
Mrit R.		Marat R.	E. 71	E. B-4	
Mrut R.			E. 71	E. B-4	
Mtkvari . . . . .					.See Kura R.
Munzur deresi	Muzur		G. 479	U. 340 A IV	
	Mzur		38°46' × 39°27'		
Murat nehri		Euphrates-Arsanias R.	G. 480	U. 341 B III	
			38°52' × 38°48'		
Murç . . . . .					.See Murçamawr.
Murçamawr R.	Murç R.	Araxes R. Eğri	E. 71	E. G-4	
Murgulsuyu deresi			G. 480	U. 324 C II	
			41°20' × 41°40'		
Muzur R.		Munzur deresi	E. 71	E. G-3	
		Mzur R.		AA 105	
Mzur . . . . .					.See Muzur R.
Nazik gölü			G. 486	U. 340 A III	
			38°50' × 42°16'	AA 105	
Nikephorios . . . . .					.See Nymphios.
Nymphios R.	Nikephorios	K'alirt' R. Šit'it'ma R. Batmansuyu		CM Pf	
Oltuçayı		Bolxa R.	G. 493	U. 324 C III	
			40°50' × 41°40'	AA 6	
Palin R.		Perisuyu	E. 76	E. G-3	
		Miws Gayl R.			
Perisuyu		Keli R.			
		Palin R.	G. 510	U. 340 A IV	.See Ch. I n. 25.
		Miws Gayl R.	38°50' × 39°35'	AA 6	
		Keli R.			
		Ličik R.			
Piramis . . . . .					.See Pyramus.

NAME	VARIANT	EQUIVALENT	REFERENCES	MAPS	NOTES
Pontos Euxeiнос		Black S.	E. 78	E. B2-B4 CM Da-Oa	
Pulat dere		Aksar		U. 324 D III	
Pülk çayı			G. 517 $39^{\circ}51' \times 40^{\circ}07'$	U. 340 A I	
Pyramus R.	Piramis	Ceyhan nehri		CM Jg-Kf	
Rah R.		Ağuryan Arpa çayı Kars R.	E. 78	E. B-5	
Saris su . . . . .					.See Göksu nehri.
Saromsuyu		Lice R. ?	G. 541 $38^{\circ}21' \times 40^{\circ}54'$	U. 340 A III	
Sarsap deresi			G. 541 $38^{\circ}21' \times 37^{\circ}13'$	U. 341 B IV	
Sarus R.	Saris su	Göksu nehri		CM Jf-Jg	
Seylax R.		Çekerek ırmağı	E. 81	E. B-2 CM Jc	
Serçeme deresi			G. 550 $39^{\circ}56' \times 40^{\circ}45'$	U. 324 C IV	
Sevan L.		Gelakuneaç S. Lychnitis L.	E. 47	E. B-6 AA 7	
Šit'it'ma R.	Šit'ma				.See K'alirt' R.
Spautan S. . . . .					.See Urmiah L.
Talori deresi			G. 582 $38^{\circ}12' \times 41^{\circ}10'$	U. 340 A III	
Tatta L.		Tuz gölü		CM He	.See Ch. IV n. 7.
Thospitis L . . . . .					.See Van L.
Tigris R.		Dicle nehri Dklat R.	G. 597 $31^{\circ}00' \times 47^{\circ}25'$ E. 86	CM Pe Of AA 6 E. G-4	

NAME	VARIANT	EQUIVALENT	REFERENCES	MAPS	NOTES
Mrit R.		Marat R.	E. 71	E. B-4	
Mrul R.			E. 71	E. B-4	
Mtkvari . . . . .					.See Kura R.
Munzur deresi	Muzur		G. 479	U. 340 A IV	
	Mzur		38°46' × 39°27'		
Murat nehri		Euphrates-Arsanias R.	G. 480	U. 341 B III	
			38°52' × 38°48'		
Murç . . . . .					.See Murçamawr.
Murçamawr R.	Murç R.	Araxes R.	E. 71	E. G-4	
		Eğri			
Murgulsuyu deresi			G. 480	U. 324 C II	
			41°20' × 41°40'		
Muzur R.		Munzur deresi	E. 71	E. G-3	
		Mzur R.		AA 105	
Mzur . . . . .					.See Muzur R.
Nazik gölü			G. 486	U. 340 A III	
			38°50' × 42°16'	AA 105	
Nikephorios . . . . .					.See Nymphios.
Nymphios R.	Nikephorios	K'alirt' R.		CM Pf	
		Šit'it'ma R.			
		Batmansuyu			
Oltuçayı		Bolxa R.	G. 493	U. 324 C III	
			40°50' × 41°40'	AA 6	
Palin R.		Perisuyu	E. 76	E. G-3	
		Miws Gayl R.			
Perisuyu		Palin R.	G. 510	U. 340 A IV	.See Ch. I n. 25.
		Miws Gayl R.	38°50' × 39°35'	AA 6	
		Keli R.			
		Ličik R.			
Piramis . . . . .					.See Pyramus.

NAME	VARIANT	EQUIVALENT	REFERENCES	MAPS	NOTES
Pontos Euxinos		Black S.	E. 78	E. B2-B4 CM Da-Oa	
Pulat dere		Aksar		U. 324 D III	
Pülk çayı			G. 517 39°51' × 40°07'	U. 340 A I	
Pyramus R.	Piramis	Ceyhan nehri		CM Jg-Kf	
Rah R.		Ağuryan Arpa çayı Kars R.	E. 78	E. B-5	
Saris su . . . . .					.See Göksu nehri.
Saromsuyu		Lice R. ?	G. 541 38°21' × 40°54'	U. 340 A III	
Sarsap deresi			G. 541 38°21' × 37°13'	U. 341 B IV	
Sarus R.	Saris su	Göksu nehri		CM Jf-Jg	
Scylax R.		Çekerek ırmağı	E. 81	E. B-2 CM Jc	
Serçeme deresi			G. 550 39°56' × 40°45'	U. 324 C IV	
Sevan L.		Gelakuneaç S. Lychnitis L.	E. 47	E. B-6 AA 7	
Šit'it'ma R.	Šit'ma				.See K'alirt' R.
Spautan S. . . . .					.See Urmiah L.
Talori deresi			G. 582 38°12' × 41°10'	U. 340 A III	
Tatta L.		Tuz gölü		CM He	.See Ch. IV n. 7.
Thospitis L . . . . .					.See Van L.
Tigris R.		Dicle nehri Dklat R.	G. 597 31°00' × 47°25' E. 86	CM Pe Of AA 6 E. G-4	

NAME	VARIANT	EQUIVALENT	REFERENCES	MAPS	NOTES
Tımut R.		Ak çayı Maku çay Zanginiardere	E. 86	E. G-6 AA 105	
Tortum çayı			G. 604 40°47' × 41°42'	U. 324 C III AA 6	
Tortum gölü			G. 604 40°47' × 41°42'	U. 324 C III	
Tuz gölü		Tatta L.	G. 610 (2) 38°45' × 33°25'		
Tuzlasuyu		Mananali R.	G. 610 39°43' × 40°16'	U. 340 A I AA 6	
Urcajor R.		Vedi R.	E. 76	E. G-6	
Urmiah L.		Kapudan S. Kapautan S. Spautan S.	E. 58	E. D-6 AA 6	
Van L.		Bznuneaç S. Thospitis L	E. 620 38°33' × 42°46'	U. 340 B IV	See Ch. XI n. 56. See Ch. XI n. 21.
Varşak springs					
Vedi R.		Urcajor R.		AA 7	
Voh	Yoh	Akampsis R. Boas R. Çoruh nehri Kakamar R.	E. 32, 84	E. B-4	See Ch. III n. 24a.
Xabor					See Khābūr R.
Xoşab R.		Hayoç jor R. Hoşap suyu	E. 62	E. G-5	
Yenice ırmağı		Zamantisuyu Karmalas R. ?	G. 658 37°36' × 35°35'	U. 341 C I	
Yeşil ırmağı		Iris R.	G. 643 41°24' × 36°35'	U. 324 D IV	

LOCALITY	VARIANTS	EQUIVALENTS	REFERENCES	MAPS	NOTES
Yoh . . . . .					.See Voh.
Zab R.		Mec Zaw	G. 657 36°00' × 43°21' E. 66	AA 6 E. D-5	
Zamanti suyu . . . . .					.See Yenice ırmağı.
Zanga . . . . .					.See Hrazdan R.
Zanginiardere		Maku çay Tımut R.		AA 7	
Zegam R . . . . .					.See Jegam.
Ziban Tigris . . . . .					.See Tigris.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE *

Since the original bibliography of *Armenia in the Period of Justinian* has of necessity become obsolete after the passage of more than half a century, and its form did not correspond to modern standards, this Bibliographical Note and the Bibliography which follows it are an attempt to indicate to the reader some of the major studies which have appeared since its publication. The vastness of Adontz's interests and the expansion of Armenian, Byzantine and Iranian studies in the intervening period preclude any suggestion of bibliographical completeness, so that only the most general outline has been attempted here. Wherever possible, more recent works subsuming earlier scholarship and bibliography have been listed to remain within manageable bounds. Consequently, a number of familiar works have had to be omitted. A number of more specialized studies will be found in the Bibliography and in the relevant notes. In all these cases, however, numerous lacunae of which the editor remains painfully aware must strike the various specialists. At best, therefore, this Note is intended as an introduction to the student, and not as a guide to the experienced scholar.

Before turning to the works of other specialists, we should note that Adontz, himself, developed and reworked much of the material found in *Armenia in the Period of Justinian* in a number of subsequent studies many of which will be found listed below in the Bibliography. For a more extensive listing, both the obituary article in *Handēs Amsorya*, LXI (May, 1947) and the bibliography in the *Annuaire de l'Institut de philologie et d'histoire orientale et slave* of the Université Libre de Bruxelles, IV (1936) should be consulted as well as the article of K. Yuzbašyan in *PBH* (1962/4).

The single most relevant work at present for the study of *Armenia in the Period of Justinian* is unquestionably Cyril Toumanoff's *Studies in Christian Caucasian History* (Georgetown, 1963) in which he has expanded and re-worked most of the subjects treated earlier by Adontz, with the possible exception of the Armenian Church which

* For the full reference on each entry, the Bibliography should be consulted where necessary.

is discussed only tangentially. Toumanoff's extensive work on the history, geography and particularly the social structure of ancient and mediaeval Armenia, as well as of Transcaucasia, provides in one sense a new edition of *Armenia in the Period of Justinian* incorporating both the subsequent scholarship and the necessary revisions. Hence, Adontz's work now benefits by being read in conjunction with Toumanoff's attendant commentary.

I. *The Sources*

In a number of cases the sources cited by Adontz have received more satisfactory editions, and for several classical works he relied on the obsolescent *Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae*, even though both Theophanes the Confessor and Theophylakt Simokattes had already appeared in the preferable editions of C. de Boor (1883 and 1887). To these should now be added A. Pertusi's edition of Constantine Porphyrogenitus' *de Thematibus* (1952) and Moravcsik, Jenkins, et al.'s publication of the same emperor's *de Administrando Imperio* (1949, 1962). The Mommsen, Krüger, et al. edition of the *Corpus Juris Civilis* has become standard despite some of the misgivings voiced by Adontz, and where it is available, the Conciliar documentation is probably better cited according to Schwartz's *Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum* (1914) than according to *Mansi*. There are better editions of several of the Episcopal *Notitiae* than the one of Pinder and Parthey, as was already observed by Louis Robert, *Villes d'Asie Mineure*, pp. 428 sqq., and Honigmann's *Le Synekdemosis d'Hieroklès et l'opuscule géographique de Georges de Chypre* (1939) should now be consulted on both these treatises. Finally, Miller's *Itineraria Romana* (1916) is the standard edition for the *Itinerarium Antonini* and the *Tabula Peutingeriana*. Although the volumes of the *Loeb Classical Library* are of variable quality and in numerous instances to be checked against the critical edition of the text, they provide a convenient and generally accurate English translation of the original; when available, however, the French translations in the parallel *Budé* series are often preferable.

In the case of Syriac sources such as Ephraem Syrus, John of Ephesus, or Ps. Zacharias of Mitylene, the versions published in the *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium* have superseded earlier ones.

Armenian sources unfortunately continue to lack critical editions in far too many instances; moreover, such editions as "*Agat'angelos*", *Movsēs Kalankatwaçi*, and *Movsēs Xorenaci* (Tiflis, 1909, 1912, 1913), Mal'xasyanç's *Sebēos* (Erevan, 1939), and Abrahamyan's *Yovhannēs Mamikonean* (Erevan, 1941), are still difficultly obtainable, and were regrettably inaccessible to this editor. Nevertheless, a number of new editions have replaced those used by Adontz: Akinian's *Koriwn* (Vienna, 1952), Ter Minaseanç's *Elišē* (Erevan, 1957), Melik' - Ohan-janyan's *Kirakos Ganjakeçi*, (Erevan, 1961), Yuzbašyan's *Aristakēs Lastivertçi* (Erevan, 1963). A new version of Yakovb Karneçi is to be found in volume II of Hakobyan's *Minor Chronicles of the XIII-XVIII C.* (1958), and the first volume of the *Armenian Book of Canons* containing the *Canons of St. Sahak*, appeared in 1964. The so-called *Diegesis* or *Narratio de Rebus Armeniae*, which Adontz preferred to cite in his own copy of the MS rather than according to the Combefisius' edition fathered by Migne simultaneously on the elusive "Isaac Katholikos" (PG CXXXII) and Philip the Solitary (PG CXXVII), has now received the excellent edition of Garitte in the *CSCO* (1952).

Translations of Armenian sources into western languages, with the outstanding exception of Dowsett's *The History of the Caucasian Albanians by Movsēs Dasxurançi* (1961) and his *Penitential of Dawit' of Ganjak* in the *CSCO* (1961), have hardly changed since Adontz's time, and remain almost uniformly unsatisfactory.

Considerable epigraphic material unavailable to Adontz has come to light in recent years. The pre-Armenian, Urartian period has been illuminated by Melikishvili's edition and translation of the Urartian inscriptions, *Urartskie klinoobraznye nadpisi* (1960), complemented by D'iakonov's *Urartskie pis'ma i dokumenty* (1963) and his "Assyro-Babylonian Sources on the History of Urartu", *VDI* (1951). The Armavir inscriptions of the formerly unidentified Erwandian-Orontid rulers of Armenia, some of the Aramaic inscriptions of the Artaxiad dynasty, and the Garni inscription of king Trdat III, together with a number of other epigraphic sources, have been collected in K. Trever's *Ocherki po istorii kultury drevnei Armenii* (1953). The Nemrud dağ inscriptions of the kings of Kommagenē, whom Toumanoff has linked with the Zariadrid dynasty of Sophenē, are found in Jalabert and Mousterde, *Inscriptions de Syrie*, I, until the expected publication of the final report on Nimrud dağ by T. Goell and F.K. Dörner,

and a list of the more recently discovered Artaxiad Aramaic inscriptions is given by Perikhanian in her latest article in the *REA* (1966). Three volumes of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Armenicarum* are now out (1960, 1966, 1967), and such collection of foreign sources on Armenia as Melik'set'-Bek, *Georgian Sources concerning Armenia and the Armenians* (1934, 1936, 1955) and Nalbandian, *Arabic Sources Concerning Armenian and the Neighbouring Lands* (1965), should likewise be consulted.

The great Sasanian inscriptions, whose discovery has greatly affected Armenian chronology especially in the third century, are to be found in the following publications: Herzfeld, *Paikuli* (1924), Nyberg, *Häjjäbād* (1945), Sprengling, *Third Century Iran* (1953), and Maricq, *Res Gestae Divi Saporis* (1958) which contains the earlier bibliography. For the earlier Achemenian inscriptions, the standard text at present is Kent, *Old Persian* (1953). Finally, the Greek and Latin inscriptions found in Armenia and Pontus were collected by Anderson, Cumont and Grégoire in *Studia Pontica*, III (1910).

Adontz was acutely aware of the fact that all hypotheses on Armenian history and culture were, of necessity, only as sound as the sources on which they were based, and he turned repeatedly to this problem both in *Armenia in the Period of Justinian*, and in subsequent studies. Nevertheless, the status of many crucial Armenian literary sources remains equivocal and controversial at best. The most convenient introduction to the multiple problems of this subject is found in M. Abelyan's *Hayoc hin grakanut'yan Patmut'iwn* (1944, 1946), but this work should be complemented in most cases, since Abelyan's views have not been invariably shared by his colleagues. The most convenient resumé of the continuing controversy over the date and purpose of the *History* attributed to Movsēs Xorenaci in which Adontz actively participated is given by Toumanoff in his *Studies*, and his recent article in *HA* (1961). On the various problems of the compilation traditionally associated with the name of Agat'angelos, but for which recent scholars tend to prefer the descriptive title of *Gregorian Cycle*, the fundamental study is Garitte's admirable *Documents pour l'étude du livre d'Agathange* (1946), now complemented by his study in *AB* (1965). A resumé of the literature on the *Armenian Geography* formerly attributed to Movsēs Xorenaci can be found in Eremyan's *Hayastan est "Ašxar-hacoyc"* (1963) and in Hewsen's useful abstract in the *REA* (1965). On the so-called *Anonymous* or *Primary History* of Armenia, usually found in conjunction with the *History* of Sebēos, see Adontz's own

study, Markwart in *Ca* (1930), Malxasyanç in *VV* (1949) Abgaryan, *Sebēosi Patmut'iwn* (1965) and Toumanoff, *Studies*. On Koriwn's *Life of Mesrop Maštoç*, see once again Adontz's work, Akinian in *HA* (1949), and the collections of articles on *Mesrop Maštoç* published by the Armenian Academy of Sciences (1962) and the University of Erevan (1963). On P'awstos Buzand, see Excursus U in Stein's *Histoire du Bas Empire*, II (1949), on Elišē, Akinian's numerous articles in *HA* (1931-1937, 1950-1951), on Lewond, likewise Akinian, *HA* (1929). On Sebēos, the most recent extensive study is Abgaryan's *Sebēosi Patmut'iwn* (1965), though Abgaryan's conclusions have not been definitively accepted. On the alteration of the date of Uxtanēs' *History of Armenia*, see Peeters, "Sainte Sousanik" in *AB* (1935), on Movsēs Kałankatwaçi or Dasxurançi, Akinian, *HA* (1952, 1956-1958) and Dowsett, *History of the Caucasian Albanians* (1961). On the *Treatise* attributed to Eznik the Priest, see Akinian's answer to Adontz, *HA* (1938). Finally the *Code* of Mxit'ar Gōš and its relationship with other such works has attracted considerable attention e.g. Samuēlean, *Mxit'ar Gōši Datastanagirk'n* (1911), Tigranian, *IKIAI* (1925), Kiwlēserean, *HA* (1926), Harut'yunyan's Introduction to Papovian's translation, *Armianskii Sudebnik Mkhitar Gosha* (1954), Galstyan in his edition of Smbat Sparapet's *Datastanagirk'* (1958), Pivazyan, *BM* (1960), and T'orosyan, *BM* (1962). See also Mécérian, *BA* (1947-1948), and Pigulevskiaia's article on the *Syrian Lawcode*, *UZL* (1952). As in all cases of actively controverted subjects, all these interpretations and the bibliography must remain provisional.

II. Geography

Adontz's book was composed at a time when Hübschmann's great study, *Die altarmenischen Ortsnamen* (1904) had already appeared as had the earlier works of Lehmann-Haupt and of Markwart. The later publications of these authors should, however, be consulted, especially Lehmann-Haupt's *Armenian einst und jetzt* (1910-1931) and Markwart's *Skizzen zur historischen Topographie* (1928), *Süd-armenien und die Tigrisquellen* (1930), and his recently published MS on the province of Parskahayk' in *REA* (1966).

The major recent study of the eastern frontier of the Byzantine Empire is Honigmann's *Die Ostgrenze des byzantinischen Reiches* (1935), and a systematic attempt not only to identify and locate,

but also to estimate the territory of the various districts and provinces mentioned in the *Armenian Geography* has been presented in Eremyan's *Hayastan est "Ašxarhaçoye"* (1963). Wherever possible the multiple articles of Barthold and of Minorsky in the *EI* should likewise be consulted as well as Hakobyan's *Ašxarhagrut'yun* (1968).

The topographical information provided by the various *Itineraries* crossing Armenia has been studied by Miller, *Itineraria Romana* (1916), and with a more precise focus on their sections dealing with Armenia, by Eremyan, *VDI* (1939), and Manandian, *Manr hetazotut'yunner* (1932), *Hayastani glxavor çanaparhnera* (1936), and the *Trade and Cities of Armenia* (1944).

Considerable information on Armenian ecclesiastical geography, as well as on secular topography, is provided in Honigmann's other studies, particularly in his notes to the *Synekdemos* of Hierokles, in *Evêques et évêchés monophysites d'Asie Antérieure* (1951), and in the article on the location of Romanopolis, which appeared in his *Trois mémoires posthumes* (1961). The same is true of Garitte's commentaries to both the *Documents pour l'étude du livre d'Agathange*, and the *Narratio de rebus Armeniae*.

In addition to these works, information on Armenian geography is also found in Ruge's articles in *PW*, Minorsky's "Transcaucasia", *JA* (1930) and his notes to the *Hudud al-'Alam* (1937), Kanayeanc, *Anyayt gawañner hin Hayastani* (1914), Manandian, *Hin Hayastani mi k'ani problemneri masin* (1944), and *Patmakan-Ašxarhagrakan manr hetazotut'yunner* (1945), Dashian's articles on the western borderlands of Armenia, *HA* (1937-1945), Appendix X of Goubert's *Byzance et l'Orient*, I (1951), Canard's, *Histoire de la dynastie des H'amdaniides*, I (1951).

For the peripheral lands discussed by Adontz as being at times part of Armenia, see, in addition to the notes in the *Hudud al-'Alam*, Minorsky's *History of Sharvān and Darband* (1958) and Barthold's earlier *Mesto prekaspiiskikh oblastei* (1924), for the Caspian districts; Pigulevskaya, *Mesopotamiia na rubezhe V-VI vv.* (1940), Honigmann, *Die Ostgrenze*, *Evêques et évêchés*, and *Le Couvent de Barsauma* (1954), as well as Canard, *Histoire des H'amdaniides*, and Dillman's article in *S* (1961) together with his *La Haute-Mesopotamie orientale* (1961), for Mesopotamia and north Syria; Honigmann's *Ostgrenze*, and his article "Kommagene", *PW*, IV, Dashian's articles in *HA* (1937-1945), Pertusi's commentary on *Costantino Porfirogenito de Thema-*

tibus (1952), and Tiraçean's article on Kommagenē in *IANA* (1956), on the west; and finally, Markwart's *Skizzen*, Honigmann, *Ostgrenze*, Manadian, *The Trade and Cities of Armenia*, Excursus II in Mnçakanian's *Altvanic Ašxarhi ... šurjə* (1966), and Hakobyan's *Siuniki T'agavorut'yuna* (1966), for the northern borders.

Throughout the area studied by Adontz, the problem of the toponymy remains a nightmare for the investigator. Western Asia Minor has received considerable attention lately in the many studies of Louis Robert, but the east of the peninsula remains well nigh *terra incognita*, especially since maps of this area are generally either totally inadequate or unobtainable as classified military information. The survival of ancient Urartian toponyms in Armenian is discussed by Banateanu, *HA* (1961), Wittek's article on the transition from Byzantine to Turkish Toponymy, *B* (1935) is very useful, and the Department of the Interior's *Gazetteer No. 46* : Turkey provides coordinates for most sites together with the version of their name as of ca. 1960, but a systematic concordance of ancient and modern toponyms, and particularly of their recent, multiple, and rapidly changing avatars is an imperative necessity.

III. Philology

Armenian linguistics and philology have been until now the most active fields of Armenology. Consequently, there can be no question of attempting to give here a review of the extensive literature which has been added to this subject, all the more so because of Adontz's generally peripheral treatment thereof.

The first edition of Meillet's *Grammaire comparée de l'Arménien classiques* appeared as early as 1902, though Adontz gives no indication of his being familiar with it as he was with the works of both Hübschmann and de Lagarde. Of Meillet's other works and Benveniste's constant studies in *BSL*, *REA*, *HA*, etc., such studies as Meillet's "Quelques mots parthes", *REA* (1922), Benveniste's "Titres iraniens en Arménien", *REA* (1929), and *Titres et noms propres en Iranien ancien* (1966) should be mentioned here as directly relevant to Adontz's interpretation of *naḫarar* terminology, as is Dowsett's challenge of the etymologies proposed by him for such terms as *tēr*, *tikin*, in the *Mémorial du Centenaire de l'École des langues*

orientales anciennes of the Institut Catholique (1964). In view of Dowsett's query of Adontz's capacities as a philologist, of Benvenist's suggestion of an Iranian origin for such a term as *awžit*, which Adontz derived from Syriac, and of the growing evidence for the close connexion between mediaeval Armenian and Parthian, the linguistic aspects of *Armenia in the Period of Justinian* should probably be revised in the light of new scholarship.

For the characteristics of Classical Armenian and its development, see in addition to Meillet's *Grammaire comparée*, Karst, *Geschichte der armenischen Philologie* (1930), Ačaryan, *Liakatar k'erakanut'yun Hayoç lezvi* (1955), and Benveniste, *BSL* (1959) on phonetics and syntax. On the evolution of the language, see Akinian, *HA* (1932), Ĭap'ançyan, *Hayoç lezvi patmut'iwn* (1961), Łazaryan, *Hayoç grakan lezvi patmut'iwn* (1961), and Manandian's *Yunaban dproçə* (1928), on the influence of the Hellenistic school. When possible, Ačaryan's difficultly procurable *Hayerēn armatakan bararan* (1926-1935), should also be consulted, even though not all of his etymologies have proved acceptable.

On the origin of Armenian and its relationship with other Indo-European and non Indo-European languages, see Ĭap'ançyan *K prois-khozheniiu Armianskogo iasyka* (1946), and the articles in his *Istoriko-lingvističeskie raboty* (1956) together with the objections of D'iakonov, "Khetty, Frigiitsy i Armiane", *Peredneaziatskii Sbornik* (1961), as well as Haas, *HA* (1961). For the classification of Armenian within the Indo-European system, see Pedersen, *Le groupement des dialectes indo-européens* (1925), Solta, *Die Stellung des Armenischen im Kreise der indogermanischen Sprache* (1960), and Garibian's report to the XXV Congress of Orientalists (1960). On the relations of Armenian and Iranian, see Meillet, *REA* (1921), Benveniste, *HA* (1927) and *REA* (1964), Bolognesi, *Le fonti dialettali degli imprestiti iranici in Armeno* (1960), and his article in *HA* (1961); for Armenian and Phrygian, Haas, *HA* (1939), and Bonfante, *AQ* (1946). See also Deeters, "Armenisch und Südkaukasisch" (1926-1927), Vogt, *NT* (1938), and for Marr's highly controversial theory, Thomas, *The Linguistic Theories of N. Ja. Marr* (1957). Finally, for a survey of the work of the Institute of Linguistics of the Armenian SSR, see Kostanyan, *VIA* (1958).

IV. *Rome and Iran*

For works relating to Armenia see below section V.

On the administrative system of the Later Roman Empire and its eastern provinces, the main general works at present are Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor* (1950), Jones, *The Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces* (1937), and *The Later Roman Empire* (1964), although Rostovtzeff, *Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire* (1926), Broughton, *Roman Asia Minor* (1938), Pigagnol, *L'Empire chrétien* (1947), and Palanque's edition of Stein's *Histoire du Bas Empire* (1949, 1959), should also be consulted. For the post-Justinianic period, as well as the earlier one, the most recent Byzantine histories, such as Ostrogorsky's *History of the Byzantine State* (1957) and the new edition of volume IV of the *Cambridge Medieval History*, are the most convenient references.

For a more recent discussion of Diocletian's reforms and eastern policy, and the pre-Justinianic administration of the Armenian territories, see Costa's article in the *Dizionario Epigrafico* (1912), Seston, *Dioclétien* (1946) Cumont's "L'annexion ... de la Petite Arménie", in *Anatolian Studies* (1923), and Ensslin's "Zur Ostpolitik des Kaisers Diokletians", *SBAW* (1952). On Diocletian's military system, see Nischer's article in the *JRS* (1923), and van Berchem, *L'armée de Dioclétien* (1952); on the praetorian prefecture: Stein, *Untersuchung über das Officium Prätorianerpräfektur* (1922), Palanque, *Essai sur la préfecture du prétoire* (1933), and de Laet, *ARBEL* (1946-1947); and on the fiscal policy: Pigagnol, *L'Impôt de capitation sous le Bas-Empire Romain* (1916), Déléage, *La Capitation du Bas-Empire* (1945), and Karayannopoulos, *Das Finanzwesen des frühbyzantinischen Staates* (1958).

On the period of Justinian, the latest major study is volume I of Rubin's *Das Zeitalter Iustinians* (1960), but Palanque's edition of volume II of Stein's *Histoire du Bas-Empire* (1949) should also be consulted, as well as Vasiliev's *Justin I* (1950), Pigulevskaja's *Mesopotamia na rubezhe V-VI vv.* (1940), and Hannestad's articles on the relations with Transcaucasia and Central Asia in *B* (1955-1957), for the immediate background of the reign. On Justinian's legal activities, see Collinet, *Études historiques sur le droit de Justinien I* (1912).

For the partition of A.D. 591 and the relations of Maurice and Xusrō II, see Goubert, *Byzance et l'Orient* (1951) and his preliminary

article in *B* (1949), Higgins' *The Persian Wars of the Emperor Maurice* (1939), with the clarification of the problem of chronology, and his article in the *CHR* (1941) on "International Relations at the close of the Sixth Century", also Minorsky's article in *BSOAS* (1945), Pigulevskaja's *Vizantiia i Iran na rubezhe VI i VII vekov* (1946), and Iskanyan, *PBH* (1960, 1963).

On the still disputed problem of the Byzantine Themes and the date of their appearance, see the article of Baynes, in the *EHR* (1952), Ensslin, *BZ* (1953), Pertusi, *Aevum* (1954), Ostrogorsky, *B* (1954), Dölger, *Historia* (1955), again Pertusi and Ostrogorsky in the *Acts of the XI International Congress of Byzantine Studies* (1958), and particularly the book of Karayannopoulos, *Die Entstehung der byzantinischen Themenordnung* (1959) which contains a historiographical survey. On the similarity of the Byzantine administrative re-organization and the Sasanian reforms of the sixth century, see Stein, *BNJ* (1920) and his review of Christensen's first edition of *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*, *Le Muséon* (1940), as well as Christensen's own acceptance of Stein's thesis in the second edition of his work (1944), excursus II. This thesis has, however been rejected by most recent Byzantinists among them Ostrogorsky, Pertusi, and Karayannopoulos.

On Early Iranian studies in general, see Henning's *Bibliography of Important Studies on Old Iranian Subjects* (1950). Minorsky's articles in *AO* (1932-1951), and Frye's *The Heritage of Persia* (1963), which gives a good summary of recent interpretations together with useful bibliographical notes, particularly for Russian publications. For surveys of Iranian monuments and inscriptions see Henning, *Mitteliranisch* (1959), and Vander Bergh, *L'Archéologie de l'Iran ancien* (1959).

On the successive periods of Iranian history relevant to Adontz's discussion, see, for the pre-Persian era, D'iakonov, *Istoriia Medii* (1956) and Aliev, *Midia - drevneishee gosudarstvo na territorii Azerbaidzhana* (1956), and for the Achaemenians: Echécham's *L'Iran sous les Achéménides* (1946), Olmstead's posthumously published, *Persian Empire* (1948), and Leuze's *Die Satrapien* (1935). Much still remains to be done on the Seleucid-Parthian periods despite Tarn's "Seleucid-Parthian Studies", in *PBA* (1930), Bikerman's, *Les Institutions des Séleucides* (1938), the vast material accumulated in the notes to Rostovtzeff's *Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World* (1941), the appearance of Debevoise's *Political History of Parthia* (1938),

and particularly of Wolski's articles in *Eos* (1946, 1954), the *Bulletin* of the Polish Academy of Sciences (1947), and *Ber.* (1956-1957). Numerous studies on the archaeological finds at Nisa and their evidence as to the nature of early Parthian society have been published in the Soviet Union: e.g. Masson, *VDI* (1950), D'iakonov and Livshits, *Dokumenty iz Nisy* (1960), *VDI* (1960), *Sbornik v Chest' Akad. I.A. Orbeli* (1960), and new material is constantly appearing. On the contacts between the Parthian Arsacids and Rome, see Dobias' article in *Archiv Orientalni* (1931), and the recent synthesis by Bokshanin, *Parfiani i Rim* (1960).

For the Sasanians, the *locus classicus* is still the second edition of Christensen's *L'Iran sous les Sassanides* (1944), although the various studies on the inscriptions should also be consulted, especially Honigmann and Maricq, *Recherches sur les Res Gestae Divi Saporis* (1953), and Sprengling's critique of earlier accounts of Šāhpuhr I's campaigns in his *Iran in the Third Century* (1953). On the early period see also Taquizadeh, *BSOAS*, XI (1943-1946), Frye, in the *Studi* dedicated to Levi della Vida (1956), and Lukonin, *Iran v epokhu pervykh Sasanidov* (1961). On the wars against the Romans, see in addition to the studies listed above in reference to the partition of 591, Olmstead, *CP* (1942), Rostovtzeff, *Ber.* (1943), Caratelli, *La Parola del Passato* (1947), and Ensslin, *SBAW* (1947), all on the activities of Šāhpuhr I, together with their critique by Sprengling in *Third Century Iran*. On the Sasanian north and west frontier, see also Eremyan, *IAFAN* (1941) and Nyberg, in the *Studia* dedicated to Bernhard Karlgren (1959). Finally on the administration of the empire, see, in addition to Christensen, Stein's earlier article in *BNJ* (1920) and his review of Christensen in *Le Muséon* (1940).

Duchesne-Guillemin's *La religion de l'Iran ancien* (1962) provides a convenient introduction to the subject, but see also: Unvala, *Observations on the Religion of the Parthians* (1925), Jackson, *Zoroastrian Studies* (1928), Bidez and Cumont, *Les mages hellénisés* (1938), Sprengling, "Kartir" *AJSL* (1940), Wikander, *Feuerpriester in Kleinasiens und Iran* (1946), Widengren, *Numen* (1956) and *Les religions de l'Iran* (1968), Chaumont, *RHR* (1960), Zaehner, *The Dawn and Twilight of Zoroastrianism* (1961), Benveniste, *JA* (1964), and on Kartir's missionary activity, de Menasce, *AEHE* (1956).

For the Iranian social structure and its bases, see Benveniste's articles, *JA* (1932, 1938), *Le vocabulaire* (1969) and Dumézil's controver-

sial thesis in *Naissance d'archanges* (1945), and *L'idéologie tripartite des Indo-Européens* (1958); on existing institutions, Mazahéri, *La famille iranienne* (1938), Henning, *JRAS* (1953), Wolski's article on the Arsacid period, *Eos* (1954) and Widengren's "Recherches sur le féodalisme iranien", *OS* (1956). Finally, on the system of taxation and the lower classes of society, see Fateh, *BSOAS* (1938), Solodukho, *SV* (1948), Perikhanian, *VDI* (1952), Pigulevskaja, *VDI* (1937), and *Les villes de l'état iranien* (1963), and Altheim and Stiehl's highly controversial *Ein asiatischer Staat* (1954).

V. Armenia

Despite the passage of more than half a century, no satisfactory general history of Armenia has appeared in a western language since the publication of *Armenia in the Period of Justinian*. De Morgan's *Histoire du peuple arménien* (1919) and Grousset's *Histoire de l'Arménie* (1947) are on the whole disappointing, or too old to incorporate recent discoveries. In spite of its great value for reference purposes, Toumanoff's *Studies in Christian Caucasian History*, provides no systematic historical treatment, as is evident from its title. The most useful general history of ancient and medieval Armenia at present consequently is Manandian's *K'nnakan tesut'yun Hay žolovrdi patmut'yan* (1945-1952), and for the Roman period, Asdourian's *Die politischen Beziehungen zwischen Armenien und Rom* (1911), although it too requires rectification on a number of points. See also Sarkisian's bibliographical survey, *VDI* (1967).

On the periodization of Armenian history presented by Adontz, see the critique of Manandian, *Feodalism hin Hayastanum* (1934) and *The Trade and Cities of Armenia* (1944), and Toumanoff, *Studies*, as well as the suggestions of Eremyan in *VI* (1951).

Armenian chronology is still studded with problems and contradictions even on such crucial points as the date of the Christianization of the country, a point on which Adontz, himself proposed a revision in his subsequent study "Les vestiges d'un ancien culte en Arménie", *AIPHO* (1936). A number of corrections in the chronology were already made by Asdourian in his *Beziehungen*, and for the third century A.D., the studies of Maricq, *S* (1955, 1957) and Kasuni, *Akos* (1957) have helped bring a modicum of precision into a picture

which is still extremely confused. For the date of Diocletian's re-establishment of Trdat III on the throne of Armenia, the evidence of the Sasanian inscriptions must now be taken into consideration, cf. Herzfeld, *Paikuli*, Sprengling, *Third Century Iran*, Honigmann-Maricq, *Recherches*, and Eremyan's relation of this material to Armenia, *PBH* (1966). For the period of the Christian Arsacids, see the major revision proposed by Baynes, *EHR* (1910), which has not, however, been accepted by all scholars, and on particular events, Peeters, "L'Intervention politique de Constance II", *ARBBL* (1931), "Le début de la persecution de Sapor", *REA* (1921), as well as the notes and commentary in Garitte's *Documents pour l'étude du livre d'Agathange* and the *Narratio de rebus Armeniae*. The most recent discussion of Armenian fourth century chronology, hinging on the date of the Christianization of Armenia, has been given by Ananian, *Le Muséon* (1961), who includes a résumé of other theses, but holds to the general chronological framework of Manandian and Garitte, rejecting Baynes' revision.

The period of Armenian history which has benefitted from the most attention of late, is the earliest pre-Christian era of which Adontz regretted the almost total ignorance in *Armenia in the Period of Justinian*, but to which he too devoted himself in his last major work, *Histoire d'Arménie* (1946). The enormous quantity of material uncovered by Urartian archaeology, complemented by the deciphering of the Urartian inscription, cannot even be broached in a brief introduction such as this. The most convenient summaries of the scholarship and bibliography of the subject can be found in Piotrovskii, *Vanskoe Tsarstvo* (1959), Melikishvili, *Nairi-Urartu* (1954), Manandian, *O nekotorykh spornykh problemakh* (1956), Lap'ançean, *Istoriko-Lingvisticheskie raboty* (1957), and van Loon, *Urartian Art* (1966), but the constant publication of new excavation reports and articles make all syntheses rapidly obsolete and the periodical literature must invariably be consulted. For the ethnographic pattern of early Armenia and the neighbouring lands, see below section VII.

On the Achaemenid and Hellenistic periods, our knowledge has likewise been radically altered by Manandian's identification of the native Erwandian-Orontid dynasty, cf. Manandian, *The Trade and Cities of Armenia* (1944) and Trever's *Ocherki po istorii kultury drevnei Armenii* (1953), which contains most of the relevant inscriptions. For the development of Manandian's thesis, and the link between

the Orontids, the Zariadrids of Sopenē, and the dynasts of Kommagene commemorated in the Nimrud-dağ inscriptions, see Toumanoff's *Studies in Christian Caucasian History*, which incorporates the material and conclusions of earlier articles, and Sargisyan, *Hellenistakan darašr-jani Hayastana* (1966). See also Tiraçyan in *IANA* (1956), and his report to the XXVth Congress of Orientalists (1960). The discovery of the Aramaic inscriptions of the Artaxiads have also suggested the need for a re-evaluation of the nature of both the Artaxiad and the Zariadrid dynasties in relation to each other and to the contemporary powers, cf. in addition to the works of Toumanoff and Trever already mentioned, Perikhanian's article, *REA* (1966) for the recent bibliography.

For Armenia's history as a buffer state between the Romans and the Persians, see the following studies in addition to Asdourian's *Beziehungen* and the relevant works listed in section IV: on the reign of Tigran II and the distorting image given by Roman sources- Manandian, *Tigran II i Rim* (1943), as well as Eckhardt, *K* (1909-1910), Güze, *K* (1926), Manandian, *VDI* (1939, 1940); on the wars of Nero ending in the compromise peace of Rhandaia, Schur- *K* (1923, 1925), Kudriavtsev, *VDI* (1948, 1949); and for Trajan's temporary annexation- Lepper, *Trajan's Parthian War* (1948). On the period of the Christian Arsacids, see, in addition to the works already mentioned under chronology, Akinian, *HA* (1935), Ensslin, *K* (1936), Stein, *Histoire du Bas-Empire*, I (1959), and Doise, *REAnc.* (1945), for the fourth century; Mécérian, *BA* (1953), Eremyan, *VDI* (1953), and Iskanyan, *PBH* (1966), for the Persian war of 450-451; and Goubert, *Byzance et l'Orient*, on the period of Maurice.

VI. The Church

On the general history of the early Church and its institutions touched upon in Adontz's discussion, the most convenient survey is still Fliche and Martin, *Histoire de l'Église* (1946), and on specific points, the *DTC* and *DHGE* are useful as are Grumel's *Regestes des Actes du Patriarcat de Constantinople* (1932). See also Stein, *ZNW* (1935) and Dvornik, *The Idea of Apostolicity in Byzantium* (1958).

On the first oecumenical councils and their participants, Laurent's "Les sources à consulter", *EO* (1931), Honigmann's valuable articles

in *B* (1939, 1944), and his *Patristic Studies* (1953), must be consulted, as well as Schwartz's study in *ABAWM* (1937) and the *Prosopographia* and *Topographia* which he included in volume II-vi of the *ACO*. On the Council of Chalcedon in particular, see the collection of articles in Grillmeier and Bacht, *Das Konzil von Chalkedon* (1951-1954), Sellers, *The Council of Chalcedon* (1961), and in its relation to Armenia, Sarkissian, *The Council of Chalcedon and Armenia* (1965).

On the geography of the eastern church, Schwartz's and Honigmann's above mentioned articles are indispensable, as are Honigmann's notes to the *Synekdemos* of Hierokles, and his *Évêques et évêchés monophysites* (1951), *Le Couvent de Barsauma* (1954), and *Trois mémoires posthumes* (1961). Peeter's *Recherches d'histoire et de philologie orientales* (1951), and his articles in *AB*, some of which are included in the preceding collection, as well as Garitte's notes to "Agathangelos" and the *Narratio* are likewise essential.

For the Armenian Church, studies still begin with Ormanian's *Azgapatum* (1914-1927). Tournebize's *Histoire politique et religieuse de l'Arménie* (1910) can occasionally be useful despite its age and bias, and Kogean's recent and controversial *Hayoc Ekelecin*, should also be consulted, but Mécérian's *Histoire et institutions de l'Église arménienne* (1965) has proved unexpectedly disappointing. All the works of Honigmann, Peeters, and particularly Garitte, already cited, are directly relevant for a study of early Armenian Christianity, as is Markwart's posthumous *Die Entstehung der armenischen Bistümer* (1931). The most recent survey of the numerous points of controversy is given by van Esbroeck in *AB* (1962). On the question of hereditary ecclesiastical estates, Perikhanian's study on pagan temple-estates, *Khramovye Ob'edinenie* (1959) is of considerable interest, albeit dealing exclusively with the pre-Christian period.

VII. The Naḫarar System

As indicated at the beginning of this note, all future investigations of the Armenian *naḫarar* system should begin with Toumanoff's extensive *Studies in Christian Caucasian History* (1963), and the studies of Iranian institutions and terminology mentioned above will invariably prove relevant.

For the early social structure of Transcaucasia and the neigh-

bouring lands, and the complicated ethnographic pattern of the area, the first section of Toumanoff's *Studies* may be complemented by a number of additional works: Hüsing's *Die Völker Altkleinasiens und am Pontus* (1933), Anderson, *Alexander's Gate* (1932), ĴavaĴišvili's and Ušakov's articles in *VDI* (1939), Manandian's *Hin Hayastani mi k'ani problemneri masin* (1944), Eremyan, *VI* (1952), Fields' *Contribution to the Anthropology of the Caucasus* (1953), Aliev's article in the *Sbornik v chest' Akad. I. A. Orbeli* (1960), Melikishvili's report to the XXVth Congress of Orientalists (1960), and the collection of archaeological articles under the editorship of M. Mellink, *Dark Ages and Nomads* (1964). For recent studies of Armenia's northern borderlands, see Trever, *Očerki po istorii i kultury kavkazskoi Albanii* (1959), the collection of articles on Albania published by the Academy of Sciences of the Azerbaijanian SSR (1962), Mnaçakanyan's *Alvanic ašxarhi ... šurj* (1966), and Hakobyan's *Syuniki T'agavorut'yuna* (1966). On early Armenian society see Manandian *IZ* (1945) for the pre-Arsacid period and Eremyan *IANA* (1948) for the Hellenistic epoch.

The entire validity of Adontz's thesis of a similarity between the Armenian *naᵑarar* system and western feudalism hinges on the premise that the term "feudalism" may properly be applied to other than medieval european institutions. In recent years, however, this assumption has been both challenged and defended, and the definition of "feudalism" as a rigorously circumscribed term, or as a general stage of development has been hotly debated, especially between western and Marxist scholars. Cf. Coulborn, *Feudalism in History* (1956), and Kosminski, *Problemy angliškogo feodalizma* (1963). Moreover, extensive new studies of western feudalism have altered the interpretation of this institution, so that a number of Adontz's conclusions rest on concepts no longer acceptable to scholars. Consequently, much of the argument in Adontz's last chapter must now be revised in the light of such studies of feudalism as Bloch's epoch-making *La société féodale* (1939), as well as more recent works such as Lot and Fawtier's *Histoire des institutions francaises au Moyen-Age* (1957-1958), Boutruche's *Seigneurie et féodalité* (1959), and Duby's *L'économie rurale* (1962). Although less directly related to Adontz's argument, the studies on Iranian "feudalism" and the Byzantine Themes, mentioned in section IV, as well as Ostrogorsky's *Pour l'histoire de la féodalité byzantine* (1954), and Lemerle's series of articles

on Byzantine agrarian history in *RH* (1958), provide valuable comparative material.

Adontz developed his views on the Armenian social structure in his later study "Aspect iranien du servage", (1937), and his comparison of the *naḫarar* system to western feudalism was continued and elaborated by Manandian, *Feodalism Hin Hayastanum* (1934). Armenian medieval society has also been investigated by Kherumian, "Esquisse d'une féodalité oubliée", (1948-1949), more recently in Sukiasyan's *Obshchestvenno-politicheskii stroi i pravo Armenii* (1963) and M.L. Chaumont *JA* (1966).

On Armenian medieval law, see the studies of the *Codes* of Mxit'ar Gōš and Smbat Sparapet listed in section I, and works dealing with the Church, as well as Samuelyan's *Hin Hay iravunk'i patmut'yun*, I (1939), also the above mentioned studies of Manandian and Sukiasian, both of which give considerable attention to the regulations found in ecclesiastical canons.

The status of the lower classes of society has attracted a good deal of attention in recent years, both in general works, and in such specialized studies as Manandian's *Ditolat'yunner hin Hayastani šinakanneri drut'yan masin* (1925) and *Nyut'er hin Hayastani intesakan kyank'i patmut'yan* (1928), Samuelyan's article in the *Journal* of the University of Erevan (1937), Hakobyan's in *IANA* (1948), and Eremyan's *VDI* (1950), all on slavery, Eremyan's study of city-life, *VDI* (1953), Xačikyan's survey of popular movements, *P'ok'r Hayk'i socialakan šaržumnerē* (1951), Hakobyan's major work on the Armenian peasantry, *Hay gyulaciut'yan patmut'yun* (1957), and his articles *PBH* (1962, 1966).

Finally for the history of individual *naḫarar* houses, see also Muyl-dermans, *HA* (1926), Scöld, *REA* (1929) and Mlaker, *WZKM* (1932), on the Mamikonean; Kogean, *Kamsarakannerē* (1926); Markwart, *Ca* (1930) and Šahnazaryan, *Bagratunyac naḫararakan tohmi cagumē* (1948), on the Bagratids; Oskean, *HA* (1952), on the Rštuni; and Bakhudarian in the *Sbornik v chest' Akad. I. A. Orbeli* (1960), on the Arcruni.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Note. All works have been listed according to the systems of abbreviations used in the notes. For the sake of convenience, titles in Armenian and in Russian have been transliterated as well as translated.

All transliterations follow the systems indicated in the Preface to this edition. Diacritical marks have been used where required, but they have been disregarded insofar as English alphabetical order is concerned. In Armenian, the letter *ւ* between two vowels has been rendered as *-w-*, e.g. *Դուին* = Dwin. The letter *խ* = *χ*, although in Greek, the traditional transliteration, *χ* = *ch*, has been preserved.

Familiar proper names have been given according to their traditional spelling, e.g. Dashian, rather than Tašean, and only one form has been used for each name irrespective of extant variants.

* This Bibliography incorporates both the works listed in the original Russian edition and those which appeared subsequently. Works marked with an asterisk are those which were listed in the original edition.

I. SOURCES

Whenever available, the editions of the *Loeb Classical Library* [L] have been used for the sake of the parallel English text.

For Armenian sources, the best obtainable edition has been used, but in a number of cases, the edition cited is regrettably less an index of its intrinsic value, than of its accessibility to the editor.

** Sources marked with a double asterisk are those listed by Adontz in the original Bibliography without an indication of the edition used.

Aa see "Agat'angelos", *Agat'*.

Ag see "Agat'angelos", *Ag*.

Agat' see "Agat'angelos", *Agat'*.

"Agat'angelos" *Agat'angelos, *Patmut'wn [History]*, (Tiflis, 1883).

- Ag* [Greek Version] "Agathangelus", P. de Lagarde ed., *AKGWG*, XXXV (1889). Trans. : in *CHAMA*, I (1867), pp. 109-193.
- Agat'*. [*Aa* - Armenian Version] *Agat'angelos*, *Patmut'iwn* [History], 3rd ed. (Venice, 1930).
- Va* [Arabic Version] *"*Martyrium sanctorum Gregorii et Rhipsimiae et Gaianae*", in Marr, *Christianization*, pp. 66-148.
Latin trans. : in Garitte, *Agathange*, pp. 27-116.
Agat'angelosi arabakan nor xmbagrut'iwna [*A New Arabic Version of Agat'angelos*], A. Ter Lewondyan ed. (Erevan, 1968).
- Vg* [Life of St. Gregory] "Πράξις καὶ μαρτύριον τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ ἐνδόξου ἱερομάρτυρος Γρηγορίου τῆς Μεγάλης Ἀρμενίας," in Garitte, *Agathange*, pp. 23-116.
- Vo* "La Vie grecque inédite de saint Grégoire d'Arménie", G. Garitte ed., *AB*, LXXXIII (1965), pp. 233-290.
- AL* *Aristakēs Lastivertçi, *Patmut'iwn Aristakeay vardapeti Lastivertçwoy* [History of the vardapet Aristakēs Lastivertçi], (Venice, 1844).
Aristakēs Lastivertçi, *Patmut'iwn Aristakisi Lastivertçwoy* [History of Aristakēs Lastivertçi], K.E. Yuzbasyan ed. (Erevan, 1963).
Trans. : *Histoire d'Arménie ... par Arisdaguès de Lasdiverd, traduite pour la première fois ... par M. Evariste Prud'homme* (Paris, 1864).
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